KABIR

AND

THE KABIR PANTH

BY

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PREFACE

The following pages represent the result of inquiries extending over the last ten years. The gradual way in which such information, as is given, has been acquired and the number of times that first impressions have had to give way to subsequent discoveries would be sufficient warning that this representation of the subject is little likely to be free from errors. My hope is that this study will do something to increase the interest already felt by many in the various religious sects that have been called into existence in India through the efforts of distinguished teachers.

I have tried to avoid dogmatising on questions that call for fuller investigation ; but we have at any rate in the teaching of Kabir an attempt to break down the barriers that separate Hindus from Muhammadans, and we have probably in the Kabir Panth a religious system that owes something to Hindu, Muhammadan and Christian influences.

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If Christ had been an Indian, would not his Gospel have been welcomed by many who now refuse to listen ?

For help in this undertaking I am principally indebted to my Mali, Badlu Dass, who is himself a member of the Panth. He has visited all places of interest in connexion with the Panth, has introduced me to many Mahants and conducted inquiries with great intelligence. The Rev. Ahmad Shah, who is now engaged in bringing out an edition of the *Bijak*, has made many valuable suggestions and has also superintended the copying of various Kabir Panthi MSS. Mr. U. R. Clement and the Rev. Prem Chand have also rendered valuable assistance, while the Rev. B. H. P. Fisher of this Mission has kindly seen these pages through the Press.

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Kabir, as represented in the picture hung in the Kabir Charan Math, Benares.

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A Potter at work, to illustrate Sakhi (9).

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A group of Kabir Panthis, in camp at the Magh Mela, Allahabad.

to face p. 104.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Century A. D.	Hindu.	Christian.
1100	Ramanuja 1090-1150 (?)	
1200		
1300	Ramanand 1300-1400 (?)	Wyckliffe 1324-84 Jordanus 1321
1400	Gorakh Nath 1420-1485 (?)	Erasmus 1467-1536.
	Kabir 1440-1518	Luther 1483-1546
	Nanak 1469-1538	Cranmer 1489-1555
	Chaitanya 1486-1527	
1500	Vallabha Swami 1520	Fr Xavier 1506-1552
	Dadu 1544-1603	J. Xavier goes to Lahore 1596.
	Tulsi Dass 1544-1624	

Sankaracharya was born in 783 and died in 828.

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Chapter I.

The Life of Kabír.

It is generally allowed that of all the great Hindú Reformers Kabír and Tulsí Dáss have had the greatest influence for good among the uneducated classes of Northern and Central India. Kabír has been fittingly described by Sir W. W. Hunter as the Indian Luther of the 15th century.

Among those who acknowledge their indebtedness to Kabír as a spiritual guide are Nának Sháh of the Panjab, the founder of the Sikh community; Dádú of Ahmedabad (1544)[1] founder of the Panth that bears his name, and Jag Jíwan Dáss of Oudh (1760) the founder of the Sat Námí sect. Among religious teachers whose doctrine is said to be largely based upon the teaching of Kabír are Bribhan, the founder of the Sádh community (1658), Bábá Lál of Málwá and Shivá Naráin of Ghazipur.

Of these Nának Sháh is the teacher with whose name the English reader is most familiar and it is therefore well in his case to enlarge

(1) All the dates given in the text refer to the year Anno Domini.

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somewhat upon a bald assertion of indebtedness.

In the *Janam Sákhi*[2] Kabir is mentioned as a Bhagat equal in merit to Nának himself, and other Bhagats are exhorted to follow his example. On more than one occasion Nànak quotes with emphasised approval verses attributed to Kabír.

The *Adi Granth*[3], the sacred book of the Sikhs, gives much information concerning the life of Kabír and the character of his teaching. The interest which Nának felt in Kabír was probably enhanced by the fact that he had enjoyed personal intercourse with the reformer.[4]

In modern days the number of those who have in one way or another come under the influence of Kabír is very great. In the Census Report for 1901 the number of Kabír Panthís alone is returned as 843,171 and the actual number is probably considerably larger, as in the United Provinces many Kabír Panthís

(2) Janam Sakhi (Evidence or Story of birth) is the name given to the accounts of Nának, current among his followers. A translation of two such accounts will be found in Trumpp's edition of the Adi Granth.

(3) *Adi* first, principal. *Granth* book The term Granth is used by several sects to denote their authoritative writings The quotations from the Adi Granth are taken from Trumpp's translation.

(4) Nának is said to have been 27 years of age when he met Kabir. As Nának was born in 1469 the year of meeting will have been 1496, the very year in which Sikandar Lodi, the Emperor of Delhi, visited Jaunpur and other cities in that neighbourhood.

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seem to have been returned as Rámánandís and the figures for the Panjab are not included.[5]

There is no doubt as to the greatness of Kabír's influence as a religious teacher; he has also been described as the founder of Hindí literature. The hymns of Kabír are still sung by many a wandering minstrel, while his pithy sayings are frequently employed to win the attention of a dreamy audience or to clench a lengthy argument.

Unfortunately the material for a life of Kabír is miserably scanty. If we confine our attention to traditions of historical value, we are left in uncertainty as to the place and date of his birth, his name, the religion to which he was attached by birth, the state of life in which he lived, married or single, and the number of years that he resided in any particular place. It is true that many legends have gathered round his name, but however interesting these may be from various points of view they can hardly be said to meet the needs of those who desire accurate information.[6]

(5) This total is distributed as follows:—Central Provinces, 493,393: United Provinces, 215,771; Central India 124,600; Bombay Presidency, 9,407.

(6) It is stated in the Benares Gazetteer that Kabír was born at Bellhara, a village in the district of Azamgarh. According to the belief of Kabír Panthis he was born in 1398 and died in 1518. The latter date is probably correct; the former is probably dictated by a desire to make him contemporaneous with Rámánand who is supposed to have lived in the 14th Century.

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It is admitted by all Kabír Panthís that Kabír was brought up as a child in the house of Nirú, a Muhammadan weaver. In the *Janam Sàkhi* Nanak is reported to have told Babar that Kabír was a Muhammadan weaver. In the *Adi Granth* occur these lines :—

By caste a weaver and patient of mind : utters Kabir with natural ease the excellencies of Ram.[7]

In one of his best known Hymns Kabír says that he will shortly give up weaving and devote himself entirely to singing the praises of Hari.[8] In another hymn he says that he had in a previous birth been born as a Brahmin, but had been re-incarnated as a *Julàha* (Muhammedan weaver) because he had in that life neglected the worship of Rám (*Rám Bhajan*).

In none of the writings that can be traced directly to Kabir is any account given as to the manner of his birth, but the following legends have long been current in this country :—

The first legend relates that his mother was a Brahmin widow who went with her father on a

(7) In such passages Kabír seems to apply the name Rám to the supreme God and not to the incarnation of Vishnú. He writes in the Bijak that the true Master did not take birth in the family of Dasrath.

(8) Kabír likens the process of birth, death and re-birth to the movements of the shuttle. This passage may be interpreted as the expression of a hope that he will shortly obtain deliverance from the trials of transmigration.

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pilgrimage to the shrine of a famous ascetic. To reward the devotion of the pilgrims the ascetic prayed that the woman might become the mother of a son. The prayer of so holy a man could not fail to find fulfilment and in due course the Brahman widow became the mother of Kabìr. The mother to escape dishonour exposed the infant, who was discovered and adopted as her own by the wife of a weaver.[9]

According to another version of this story Rámánand, who was the ascetic referred to, said that he could not recall his blessing but would arrange that the birth should not be after the usual manner, but that the infant should issue from the palm of its mother's hand.[10] His promise was realised and the infant after birth was placed on a lotus flower in the midst of the Lahár Tank. It was there discovered by Nimá, the wife of Nirú, and by her taken to her husband's house.

The second account is more poetical in character and runs thus :—

(9) Most of the legends contained in this Chapter are taken from a Hindi pamphlet entitled *Kabír Kasauti*, published at Bombay in 1885. This pamphlet is the joint production of five members of the Kabír Panth and is based upon information gleaned both from books and oral tradition.

(10) This legend enables the Hindu section of the Panth to explain the name Kabír as a corruption of Kar-Bir or the hero (born from) the hand (of a Brahmin woman).

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Kabír descended from heaven to earth.[11] The lotus flower was blooming in the place where Kabír was born. The bees were tired of humming. Peacocks, larks and other kinds of birds in their flight passed circling round the tank. Thunder and lightning were in the air when Kabír became manifest in the heart of a lotus flower, in the midst of the Lahár Tank. A feeling of thirst overcame Nimà, the newly wedded wife of Nirú, the weaver as after the marriage ceremony she was making her way to her husband's house. She approached the tank but was much afraid when she there beheld the child. She thought in her heart 'this is probably the living evidence of the shame of some virgin widow.' Nirú suggested that they might take the child to their house, but Nimá at first demurred, thinking that such action might give rise to scandal. Women would ask, " Who is the mother of a child so beautiful that its eyes are like the lotus" ? However laying aside all fears they took pity on the child. On approaching the house they were welcomed with the songs of women, but when the women saw the child dark thoughts arose in their hearts and they began to ask "How has she got this child" ? Nimá replied that she had got the child without giving birth to it and

(11) In the *Kabir Kasauti* this phrase occurs—*Sewak hokar utre is Pirthiwimanhi* "becoming a servant he descended upon this earth."

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the women then refrained from asking further questions.

The mystery surrounding the birth of the child was further deepened when Nirú called in a Qází[12] and requested him to open a Qorán and find for the child a name. He found the name Kabír, and also from the same root, Akbar, Kubrà and Kibriyá. On finding these names the Qází was much perplexed and bit his nails, for was not the term Kabír a title applied to God? News of what had taken place soon spread, and after a short while five or six more Qázís arrived upon the scene. All opened the Qorán, but with the same result. They closed the book in silent astonishment. It was impossible, they all agreed, that a title of such dignity should be given as a name to a weaver's child. They opened the Qorán again and found the names, Zindà, Khinjar, Pír and Haqq. Thereupon they said to Nirú, 'You must in some way destroy this child.' Nirú in obedience to their order took the child within the house to put him to death, but before he had time to carry out his intention the child gave utterance to this *Shabda* :—

"I have come from an unknown place. Máyá has deceived the world; no one knows me. I

(12) Qàzi, a Muhammadan judge, whose services are requisitioned in connexion with births, marriages and other legal matters.

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was not born of a woman, but manifested as a boy. My dwelling was in a lonely spot nigh to Kásí,[13] and there the weaver found me. I contain neither heaven (air) nor earth, but wisdom only. I have come to this earth in spiritual form and of spiritual significance is my name. I have neither bones nor blood nor skin. I reveal to men the *Shabda* (word). My body is eternal. I am the highest being. These are the words of Kabìr who is indestructible."

Thus were the Qázís defeated in their object and the name Kabìr was given to the child.[14]

As a boy Kabìr gave great offence to both Hindú and Muhammadan playmates. When in the course of play he cried out "Rám, Rám" and "Hari, Hari," the Muhammadans called him a *Káfir* (unbeliever.) To this charge he retorted that he only was a Káfir who did evil. One day he put a *tilak* on his forehead and a *jáneo* round his neck and cried out "Nárain, Nárain." This action roused the ire of the Brahmins, since they regarded it as an infringement of their privileges. To their protest he objected :—

"This is my faith, my tongue is Vishnu, my eyes are Nárain, and Gobind resides in my heart. What account will you give of your actions after

(13) Kásí, the Hindu name for Benares.

(14) For further comments on this legend see Chapter II.

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death ? Being a weaver, I wear a thread. You wear the sacred thread, and repeat the Gyatri and Gitá daily, but Gobind dwells in my heart. I am a sheep, you are shepherds; it is your duty to save us from sin. You are Brahmins, I am a weaver of Benares. Hear my wisdom. You daily search after an earthly king, while I am contemplating Hari."[15]

He was further taunted with being a *nigura*, one without the benefit of a spiritual guide. He was determined to remove what he, as well as they, regarded as a reproach. He desired to become the *chelá* (disciple) of Rámánand but felt that there were difficulties in the way which could only be overcome by means of some artifice.

He knew that if only he could gain possession of the *mantra* peculiar to this sect, his initiation must necessarily follow. He learnt that Ràmánand regularly visited a certain bathing *ghát* and determined to lie down upon the steps of that *ghát* in the hope that Ràmànand might step on him by accident. His hope was realised and the holy man in his astonishment exclaimed "Rám, Rám." Kabír knew that no words would rise so readily to the lips of this holy man as the *mantra* of his order and so claimed that as he was already in possession of the *mantra* he

(15) *Adi Granth*, Trumpp's translation, p, 661.

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could no longer be refused admission to the order.[16]

When Kabír announced that he had become the chela of Rámánand, both Hindus and Muhammadans were dismayed and a joint deputation went to inquire of Rámánand whether it were true that he had received a Muhammadan boy as one of his disciples. Rámánand asked them to produce the boy. The people took Kabír to him. Ràmànand on his arrival raised the curtain which screened him from the public gaze and asked the boy when he had made him his disciple. Kabír answered, "Various are the *mantras* that Gurús whisper into the ears of their disciples, but you struck me on the head and communicated to me the name of Rám." The *Swámi* recalled the circumstance, and drawing aside the curtain clasped him to his breast and said, "Beyond all questioning you became my disciple." The members of the deputation returned home disappointed. Kabìr returned to the weaver's house and set to work on the loom. When any Sádhù came to the house he used to have the ground prepared after the manner of Hindus and got food cooked for them in vessels not previously used. He himself would wait upon them while

(16) Kabír Panthis in conversation speak of their *mantra* as "Rám Rám," but it is a mistake to suppose that these words constitute the *mantra* either of their Panth or of the Rámánandis. These *mantras* may not be disclosed to the uninitiated.

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they took their food. His mother, Nimá, was annoyed at these proceedings which, she said, were not in accordance with the customs of the family.

From the time of his initiation Kabír is said to have regularly visited his Gurú and, as years went on, to have taken part in religious disputations with distinguished Pandits who came to do battle with his master. According to tradition Kabìr was not possessed of any great amount of booklore, but in any case he must have gained through instruction, conversation and participation in religious disputations a considerable knowledge of Hindu philosophical thought and familiarity with such questions as arose out of the meeting of Hindu with Muhammadan beliefs.

It appears from legends of uncertain date that he continued to work as a weaver, giving part of his earnings to Nirú and spending the rest in charity and more especially in giving food to Sádhús. Stories are told as to how on several occasions he mysteriously disappeared for a while from his father's house and in miraculous ways supplied the needs of others.

By some Kabír is said to have been married to a woman, named Loi, and to have had by her two children, a son Kamál and a daughter Kamáli. The circumstances which gave rise to this

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conjecture are thus related in *Kabir Kasauṭí.*

One day Kabír when he was some thirty years of age was walking along the bank of the Ganges when he came to a cottage belonging to a *Bankhandi Bairágí.*[17] He went up to the cottage and there sat down. After some time a girl, about twenty years of age, also arrived. To her question as to who he was, Kabír replied 'I am Kabír.' She again inquired as to his caste and sect (*Bhesh*). To both questions he returned the same answer, 'Kabír'. The girl observed that though many Sants had come to that place none of them had ever given such a name for themselves, their caste or sect. Kabír said that in saying this she had said what was perfectly true.[18] Meanwhile more Sants arrived. Presently the girl brought forth from the house a large supply of milk which she divided into seven shares. Five shares she gave to the Sants, one to Kabír and the remaining share she kept for herself. Kabír placed his share on the ground. The Sants drank theirs and asked Kabír why he also did not drink his. Kabír

(17) *Bankhandi* is an epithet applied to Bairagis who live in the *jangal.*

(18) The meaning of this legend appears to be that there is only one God and that all men are his servants and will one day be brought into close union with Him. Religious distinctions are therefore out of place. The religious reformer may have hoped that Hindus and Muhammadans would lay aside all prejudice and accept as a title for the one true God the comparatively unknown term, Kabír (The Great One).

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replied that he was keeping it for a Sádhú, now on his way, travelling from the other side of the Ganges. The girl said, "Sir, drink your share, I have plenty left for him." Kabír made answer "My food is the Word of God." (*Ham Shabda ahàri hain*). Shortly afterwards the Sádhú arrived and the milk was given to him. The Sants asked the girl (Loí) of her parentage and how she came to be living in so lonely a spot. Loi replied that she had no parents living, that she had been brought up by a Sant, but that now he too was dead and she was living alone. They inquired the name of the Sant and the circumstances under which she had come to be living with him.

The girl, Loi,replied, "The Sant was a *Bankhandi Bairági* and he lived on milk alone. In reply to questions concerning me he used to say, 'I was bathing one day in the Ganges when a basket struck against me. I opened the basket and found in it a female infant. I took the infant to my home and reared it by means of a wick soaked in milk. Having found the infant wrapt in clothes I gave it the name of Loí (blanket). Such is the account that the Swámi would give to the Sants."

Loí having observed the gravity of Kabír said to him. "Swámi, give me such teaching as will bring me peace of mind." Kabír was pleased

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with the obvious sincerity of the girl and instructed her thus, "Always repeat *Satyá Nám* (the true Name) and spend your days in the service of the Sants." In obedience to this teaching she laid aside all worldly thoughts, went to Kásí and passed her time in the service of the Sants. Nimà thought that Kabír had brought home with him a wife and asked for what purpose he had married her as they did not live together as husband and wife.

On another occasion Kabìr was walking along the bank of the Ganges, accompanied by Shaiḳh Taqqí, when the latter suddenly caught sight of the dead body of a child floating down the stream. The Shaikh suggested that Kabìr should call the child. Kabìr whispered something into its ears, whereupon it at once began to weep. Shaiḳh Taqqí allowed that Kabír had worked a miracle. On account of its beauty Kabír named the child *Kamàl* (Perfection) and made it over to Loi who reared it. The child regarded Loí as its mother and others seeing the child in Loi's lap regarded Kabìr as a married man.

Some time afterwards Kabìr happened to be in the house of a neighbour when his infant daughter died. Kabìr sought permission to remove the dead body to his house. The mother, who had heard how he had brought Kamàl back to life, after some persuasion induced the father

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to give his consent. Kabìr recalled the child to life by means of *Shabda,* called her *Kamàli* and made her over to Loi to be reared. Both children worked at the loom and addressed Kabìr as *Swámi jí.*

One day when Kamàli was now 20 years of age she happened to be drawing water at a well, when a Pandit came up and asked for a drink. Having quenched his thirst he asked whose daughter she was. He was greatly horrified when he learnt that she was the daughter of a weaver and exclaimed 'You have broken my caste.' Kamàli was at a loss to understand for what reason he had become so angry, and persuaded him to come and discuss matters with Kabìr. Before either had had time to explain matters, Kabìr, who could read the thoughts of men's hearts, exclaimed, "Before drinking water think on these things. What is defilement ? Fishes, tortoises, blood, salt, rotten leaves and the carcases of dead animals are all to be found in water. Crores of men have been slain by Kàl ; at every step you take, you tread upon the dead body of some man and yet from such earth the vessels from which you drink are made. At meal times you take off your clothes for fear of defilement and wrap yourself in a *dhotí* that has been woven by a weaver. The fly that visits the dung hill settles on your food. How can

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you prevent this ? Dispel such illusions from the mind ; study the Vedas and take refuge in Ràm."

At the Pandit's request Kabìr gave him further instruction in the doctrine of *Satyá Nám* and gave him Kamàli in marriage.

The plain speaking of Kabìr and his general disregard for the conventions of society raised him up enemies on every side. According to Kabìr Panthi traditions it was Shaikh Taqqi who voiced the feelings of Muhammadans [19]. This famous Pír came before the Emperor, Sikandar Lodí and accused Kabìr of laying claim to Divine attributes. He urged that such conduct merited the penalty of death. The Emperor issued a warrant for his arrest and sent men to bring him to the court. Not till evening could the men who were sent persuade Kabìr to accompany them. Kabìr stood before the Emperor in silence. The Qází exclaimed, "Why do you not salute the Emperor, you *káfir* ?" Kabìr replied, "Those only are Pirs who realise the pains of others, those who cannot are *káfirs*." The Emperor asked him why, when ordered to appear in the morning, he had not come till evening. Kabìr replied that he had seen a sight which arrested his attention. The Emperor asked what kind of a sight could justify him in

(19) On chronological and other grounds it seems highly improbable that Shaikh Taqqi played the part assigned to him in this legend. See Chapter II.

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disregarding his commands. Kabìr rejoined that he had been watching a string of camels passing through a street narrower than the eye of a needle. The Emperor said that he was a liar. Kabìr replied, "O Emperor, realise how great is the distance between heaven and earth. Innumerable elephants and camels may be contained in the space between the sun and the moon, and all can be seen through the pupil of the eye which is smaller than the eye of a needle." The Emperor was satisfied and let him go, but the people murmured and complained that the Emperor had disregarded their complaints. Shaikh Taqqí said that it was contrary to the teaching of the Prophet that a man who claimed Divine powers should be allowed to live, and that Kabìr should suffer as Mansúr and Shams Tahrezi had suffered of old.[20]

The Brahmins added that he was *be-dharm* because he had associated with a woman of ill fame and Ráe Dass, the *chamár*.[21] Kabìr told, the Emperor of his doctrine, but to no effect

(20) Both these men were Sufi saints. Mansúr was cruelly tortured and afterwards hung for saying of himself "I am the Truth". Shams-ud-dín Tahrezi was the *Murshid* (spiritual director) of Jalál-ud-dín, famous as the author of the Masnavi. He flourished about 1244.

(21) The *Chamárs* are workers in leather and accounted of very low caste as being associated in their work with the skins of dead animals. Several religious reformers were men of low caste; Ráe Dass was a *chamár*; Senà a barber; Dádú a cotton cleaner; Nábháji, the author of the *Bhakt Mála* a *dom* (sweeper).

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for he sided with the people and gave orders that Kabír should be put to death. Kabír was removed and made fast in chains. He was then placed on board a boat which was filled with stones. The boat sank, but Kabír re-appeared as a boy, floating down the stream on a leopard's skin.[22] He was again captured and now an attempt was made to burn him alive. He was locked up in a hut which was afterwards set on fire. When the flames were extinguished Kabír re-appeared in a form of great beauty. He was now accused of witchcraft and the people demanded that he should be trampled to death by an infuriated elephant. Between the elephant and Kabír there appeared a lion, at the sight of which the elephant took fright.[23] Finally the Emperor asked forgiveness of Kabír and expressed his willingness to undergo any punishment that he might name. To this Kabír replied that a man should sow flowers for those who had sown him thorns.

The stories so far related speak of Kabír as a resident of Kásí (Benares). It is natural that his Hindu followers should wish to associate him as closely as possible with their sacred

(22) Bairagis often carry about the skin of a deer or other animal upon which they take their seat upon the ground. It is symbolic of a life spent in places apart from the haunts of men.

(23) See additional Note, "Kabír in History," under Shaikh Abdul Kabír.

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city, but there is evidence both from the *Bíjak* and the *Adi Granth* to show that he did not at any rate spend the whole of his life in Benares.

In the *Bíjak* is found a *Ramaini* which may be interpreted thus :—

"Kabír settled for a while in Manikpur having heard of the praises of Shaiḳh Taqqi. He heard also about Ují in the district of Jaunpur. At Jhusi he heard the names of his Pírs.[24] He heard of twenty-one Pirs in all. They preach in the name of the Prophet. On hearing this I could not refrain from speaking. The people have looked on the shrines and gone astray. The works of Habibi (Beloved) and Nabi (Prophet) are all contrary to law (*harám*). O Shaiḳh Aqardi and Shaiḳh Saqardi, listen to my words. See the beginning as well as the end with open eyes, consider every period of the world's history."

In the opening lines of this Ramaini Kabír seems to be enumerating the places which he had visited in his search for religious guidance: in the closing lines to be grieving over the thought that more honour is paid to the tombs of the dead than to the GOD in whose service their lives were spent.[25]

(24) His Pírs, *i. e.* Shaiḳh Taqqi and his father Shabán-ul-millat, who were always closely associated together.

(25) For further comments upon this *Ramaini* see Chapter II.

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In the *Adi Granth* these lines are put into the mouth of Kabír,

My Hajj is on the banks of the Gomti: where dwells my Pír, wearing a yellow robe.[26]

Reference is here apparently made to Jaunpur which is situated on the left or northern bank of the Gomti. Jaunpur was the capital of a famous Muhammadan (Sharqi) dynasty. Ibrahím, one of the kings of this dynasty (1412), was a great patron of Muhammadan learning, but was in this respect surpassed by Bíbí Rájah, who built a magnificent Jami Mosque, a College and a Monastery. She also appropriated large sums of money for the maintenance of those learned in Theology and the Sciences. With the exception of the Mosque all these buildings were subsequently destroyed by Sikandar Lodi either on religious or political grounds.[27]

We gather from this quotation that Kabír was born elsewhere than in Jaunpur, but that he received religious instruction in that city.

There are many other stories connected with the life of Kabír, but we will only reproduce one more before passing on to consider the manner of his death. This story is of interest

(26) Muhammadan Pírs wear yellow garments.

(27) Jaunpur is said to be a corruption of Javanpur. *Javan* a term applied originally to the Greeks, was subsequently applied to the Muhammadans. The meaning of Jaunpur would therefore be The city of Muhammadans.

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as it associates Kabír with Central India where at the present time his influence is most strongly felt.

There lived in the Deccan two brothers, Tatvá and Jivá, who were anxious to find for themselves a spiritual guide. They used religiously to wash the feet of the many Sádhús who visited their house and listened attentively to their teaching. At a loss to discover which of these Sádhús were possessed of real spiritual power they devised the following test. They planted in the courtyard of their house a withered branch of a banyán tree and agreed to accept as their Gurú that Sádhù whose power was such, that the washings of his feet would avail to restore the branch to life. For forty years they waited in vain for one who could satisfy the test and were almost in despair of ever finding the desired Gurú, when Kabír arrived upon the scene. The branch when sprinkled with the water in which his feet had been washed immediately returned to life. Kabír was accepted as their Gurú and gave utterance to these lines :—

The Sádhús are my soul and I am the body of the Sádhús : I live in the Sádhús, as rain lives in the clouds.

The Sádhús are my Atmá, and I am the life of the Sádhús : I live in the Sádhús, as *ghi* lives in the milk.

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The Sádhús are my Atmá and I am the bread of the Sádhús: I live in the Sádhús as fragrance lives in the flowers.

All accounts agree that the earthly life of Kabír came to a close at Maghár in the district of Gorakhpur. We are not told whether he had ever previously visited this place, but he may possibly have done so when on a visit to Gorakh-Náth, the famous Yogi and founder of the Shivite sect that bears his name.

There are lines in the Adi Granth in which Kabír refers to the austerities practised by Gorakh Náth and speaks of him as having died in spite of all.[28]

Tradition relates that Kabír died in extreme old age, when his body had become infirm and his hands were no longer able to produce the music with which he had in younger days celebrated the praises of Rám. If he had lost the company of earthly friends he felt more closely united, than ever before, to one from whom he would never more be parted. Such appear to be the thoughts which find expression in the following lines, quoted from the Adi Granth ;—

Benares has been left by me and my intellect has become little : my whole life is lost in Shivpuri,

(28) Gorakh Náth and another Hindu ascetic, Muchhandar, who is more than once referred to in the *Bijak*, are also by tradition associated with Jhúsi. See Allahabad Gazetteer, p. 190.

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at the time of death I have arisen and come to Maghár.
O my King, I am a Bairágí and Yogí: when dying, I am not grieved, nor separated from Thee.
The mind and breath are made the drinking gourd, the fiddle is constantly prepared: the string has become firm, it does not break, unbeaten the fiddle sounds.[29]
Sing, sing, O bride, a beautiful song of blessing: King Rám, my husband, has come to my house.

It was the wish of his disciples that Kabír should end his days at Kásí where so much of his religious work had been accomplished. All who died in Kásí, they urged, would pass immediately into the presence of Rám, while those who died at Maghár would return to this world and assume the form of an ass. Kabír rebuked them for their want of faith. Is the power of Rám so limited that he cannot save his servant because he prefers to die outside Kāsí, the city of Shivá?

What Kási? What Maghár? He who dies at Maghár is not dead, when Rám has taken up his abode in my heart: he who dies elsewhere puts Rám to shame.

A difficulty arose with regard to the disposal of his body after death. The Muhammadans

(29) In Kabír literature the soul of man is often compared to a string. His soul is now attuned to sing the praises of God.

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desired to bury it and the Hindus to cremate it. As the rival parties discussed the question with growing warmth Kabír himself appeared and bade them raise the cloth in which the body lay enshrouded. They did as he commanded and lo! beneath the cloth there lay but a heap of flowers! Of these flowers the Hindus removed half and burnt them at Benares, while what remained were buried at Maghár by Muhammadans.[30]

(30) A very similar story is told in connexion with the death of Nának. See Hughes' Dictionary of Islam, p. 588.

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ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Kabír in History.

The following abstracts from standard books of reference will suffice to show that the name "Kabír" is not so rare as has sometimes been supposed. There is reason to question the accuracy of some of the dates[1] and reason to believe that some of Kabír's biographers, working upon the assumption that there was only one Kabír, have unhesitatingly appropiated details from the lives of several.

In *Khazinat-ul-Asfiá* (Treasury of Saints),[2] written by Maulvi Gulam Sarwar and published at Lahore about 1868, mentioned is made of

(1) *Kabír Chishit*, Sufi and inhabitant of Nágore who on account of ill-treatment at the hands of Muhammadans journeyed in the direction of Gujerat and died there in 1854

(2) *Shaikh Kabír Juláha*, the disciple and successor of Shaikh Taqqi, who is described as being one of the great men of his time and a leader among Theists. He is described as the author of many Hindi writings which prove him to have

(1) Dates may have been transferred from the History of one man to that of another bearing the same name, or difficulty may have been experienced in deciphering dates written in Persian figures, without an accompanying verbal explanation.

(2) In this book Shaikh Taqqi is described as *Hayák*, the Arabic equivalent of the Persian *Julláha*. He is said to have ilved at Manikpur and to have died in 1574.

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been a man of great ability. He taught the Sufí doctrine of *Wisàl* (Union with God) and preserved silence with regard to the contrary doctrine of *Firáq*. (Separation). He is said to have been the first to write anything about God and his attributes in the Hindi language, and to have been the author of various Hindi poems. On account of his religious toleration he was accepted as a leader by Hindus as well as by Muhammadans and styled by the former *Pír Kabír* and by the latter *Bhagat Kabír*. The date of his death is given as 1594.

(3) *Khwájàh Aulià Kabír* who visited Bokhárá and died in 1229.

(4) *Syed Kabir-ud-din Hassan* of the same family as Kabír-ud-din Ismail, who is said to have travelled three times round the world and to have lived to the age of 180. He resided at Uch in Balakh (Baluchistán) were he died in 1490.

(5) *Shaikh Kabir*, the son of Shaikh Munawar and resident of Bajaora, who is simply described as a conceited man and a victim of the opium habit.

In *Sair-ul-Aqtab* (History of Pillar Saints), written by Shaikh Allah Diya, mention is made of

(6) *Shaikh Abdul Kabír* who is said to have been a saint from his mother's womb and to have possessed a great power of foretelling events. He was known as *Shaikh Kabír* or *Bálá Pír* and inherited the priestly robe of the Sufis from his father, Abdul Quddus. He performed many miracles and by

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merely shaking the sleeve of his robe was able to cause a lion to appear. He had a taste for singing and was lavish in his hospitality. He had four sons and many disciples. The king of Jaunpur, Sultan Sikandar Lodi, together with his Vizier, Bhura, and Malik Mahmúd, determined to test his powers as a saint. It was arranged that they should visit him one evening, each having previously in his own mind thought of some particular dish. If the Pír supplied the want of each he was to be regarded as a man of God. As soon as they entered his house Kabìr brought a dish of venison sandwiches and placed it before the king; to the Vizier he offered a bowl of soup and some bread and to Malik Mahmúd a dish of sweetmeats. The result was that his guests begged forgiveness for having ever called his powers in question. This Kabìr died in 1539. He is said to have been succeeded by his son Shaikh Usmàn, who was generally known as Zinda Pír.[3]

In *Mutàkhib-ul-Tawàrikh* by Mullah Abdul Qàdir of Budaon mention is made of

(7) *Shaikh Kabìr*, a resident of Multán, who journeyed northwards to Balakh and returned from thence to India and travelled in the company of Akbar. Owing to exhaustion brought on by the severity of his devotions and night watches he is said to have presented the appearance of a drunkard.

(3) The name *Bálá Pír* occurs in the list of the Mahants of the Dharm Dass section of the Kabír Panth and the words *Zinda Pír* in the legend of the naming of Kabír.

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Mullah Abdul Qádir himself met this saint at Fatehpur in 1585 A. D.

In *Akhbár-ul-Akhyàr* mention is made of

(8) *Amìr Kabìr Mir Syed Ali Hámdani* who visited Kashmir in 1379 and died there five years later. After his death a dispute arose concerning the disposal of his body between the people of Kashmir, Sultan Muhammad and Shaikh Aqwám-ud-din of Badakhshan. The last named finally secured the body, but the people of Kashmir erected a cenotaph at the place where he died.

In the *Ferishta* mention is also made of

(9) Syed Ahmad Kabír, the Father of Syed Jalál-ud-dìn, and

(10) *Kabír-ud-din Ismaíl*, grandson, disciple and successor of Syed Jalàl-ud-dín, otherwise known as *Mahkdum Jahanian* or *Jahán Gusht Shéh* from the fact that he travelled extensively to Mecca, Balakh etc. Kabìr-ud-din Ismail also travelled extensively and died in 1421.

(11) At Jaunpur there is a small Masjid, built in memory of Divàn Sháh Kabìr who was one of four brothers, all of whom lie buried in the same plot of ground. This Masjid, which was built during the reign or the Emperor Humayan, is situated in the Muhalla Tár Talà.

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Chapter II.

THE LIFE OF KABÍR (*Contd*).

The traditional life of Kabìr has a poetical beauty which in its power to commend a Muhammadan Saint to Hindù followers may be thankfully regarded as a prophecy of the greater reconciliation of conflicting faiths to which so many of us look forward. The veil that has been drawn over the first beginnings of an important religious movement we would reverently raise, trusting thereby to add additional lustre to the brave efforts of a distinguished champion of religious truth.

Prof. Wilson, the distinguished Sanskrit scholar, to whose investigations every English student of Indian religious thought owes so deep a debt of gratitude, writes of the improbability, not to say impossibility, of Kabìr's having been a Muhammadan, and with no more respect does he treat Col. Malcolm's suggestion that he belonged to the Sufí sect. Later writers have been content to yield to authority and to accept as established truth the judgement of a great scholar.

Did we believe that Prof. Wilson had carefully investigated all the documents that are

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now available to students, we should hardly presume to question the accuracy of his judgement, but we cannot help feeling that in the immensity of the tasks which he imposed upon himself he has overlooked some part of the evidence, or possibly too readily accepted the statements of fellow workers in the same field.

Any one who has read Prof. Wilson's account of Kabìr's life would carry away the impression that Nábháji, the author of the *Bhakta Mala*, had recorded some at least of the legends which have found a place in the previous chapter. Nábháji himself, to judge from the carefully printed edition of the *Bhakta Mala* now current in India, is only responsible for the following statement :—

"Kabír refused to acknowledge caste distinctions or to recognise the authority of the six schools of Hindù philosophy, nor did he set any store by the four divisions of life (*Ashrám*) prescribed for Brahmins. He held that religion without Bhakti was no religion at all and that asceticism, fasting and almsgiving had no value if unaccompanied by worship (*Bhajan*, hymn singing). By means of Ramainís, Shabdas and Sákhís he imparted religious instruction to Hindus and Muhammadans alike. He had no preference for either religion, but gave teaching that was appreciated by the followers of both.

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He spoke out his mind fearlessly and never made it his object merely to please his hearers."

This short account describes a man who had no great sympathy with Brahminical teaching, who believed in a personal God and in salvation by faith rather than by good works, and who delivered a message, regarded as God's message, to Hindús and Muhammadans alike.

This is all that is stated in the text, but to the text is appended a commentary written by a later hand[1]. In this commentary it is stated that Kabír in his desire to wear a *Khanti* round his neck and a *tilak* on his forehead (to attract a Hindú audience) made up his mind to become a disciple of Rámánand and achieved his purpose as described in the previous chapter[2]; that Muhammadans objected to the repetition of 'Ram, Ram,' by a co-religionist and asked Rámánand whether it were true that he had received a *julahá* as his disciple; that Rámánand at first denied that he had done so but when confronted with Kabír acknowledged his mistake. Mention is also made of the fact

(1) According to one account Nábhàji wrote his account of the *Bhagats* in Sanskrit and asked his disciple Priya Dass to provide it with a commentary. Priya made a beginning and then handed over the MS to Gobardhan Nath. Finally the commentary was completed by Narain Dass, a disciple of Gobardhan Nath and published in 1769.

(2) We gather from the legend that Kabír was received into the Rámánandi Sect as a Hindú and that trouble arose subsequently when it was discovered that he was really a Muhammadan.

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that Kabír was charged before the Emperor, Sikandar Lodi, and refused on that occasion to salute the Emperor, that he was sentenced to death and was in succession thrown into the Ganges, committed to the flames and exposed to the fury of an elephant, but all to no purpose. It is added that the Emperor, thwarted in his desire to destroy Kabír, recognised that he had acted wrongly, asked Kabír's forgiveness and offered to compensate him for the injuries inflicted.

Nábhájí may have been acquainted with the legends now appended to his statement and his editor may have known of other legends not recorded, but we have no right to assume such knowledge, nor are we yet in a position to say at what time other legends gradually became current. All that we know is that such are now to be found in various writings of unknown date, but accepted as authoritative by members of the Kabír Panth.

We are inclined to accept both of the theories advanced by Col. Malcolm and to believe not only that Kabír was a Muhammadan by birth but also that he was associated with the Sufi order; and that the great object of his life was to break down the barriers that separated Hindùs from Muhammadans. We believe that in his desire to achieve this object he actually

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took up his residence in Benares and associated there with the followers of Rámánand. We can well imagine that his teaching gave offence both to orthodox Muhammadans and to orthodox Hindús, and it is probable that both parties welcomed the opportunity afforded by Sikandar Lodi's visit to Jaunpur in 1495 to wait upon him with a request that he would rid them of one who despised tradition when in conflict with the truth.

Sikandar Lodi is represented by Muhammadan historians as one who was zealous for the faith and had on one occasion put to death a distinguished pandit, Jodhan by name, because he refused to allow that Islam had a monopoly of spiritual truth. Fortunately for Kabír Muhammadan rulers were wont to allow Sufís considerable license in their criticism of the faith, especially when such Sufís combined personal piety with poetical talent. When we read how the enemies of Kabír reminded the Emperor of the fate that had befallen Mansùr and Sháms Tabrezi who were both distinguished Sufi saints, we feel that they had some knowledge of this weakness and feared lest Kabír might on such grounds escape the death penalty which alone would satisfy their embittered feelings. Their fears were realised, for we gather from the legend that the Emperor con-

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promised the case ; he spared the life of Kabír, but banished him from the city where his teaching had given so great offence.

That Kabír had been brought up in a Muhammadan family was probably a fact too well known to allow of contradiction. All that his Hindú followers could do was to suggest that he was not of Muhammadan origin, but only a Muhammadan by adoption. The name Kabír was also too well established to allow of any alteration. It only remained to explain its origin in a way that would commend itself to those who accepted the story of the virgin birth. Such an explanation was to be found in the fact that Al Kabír is one of the 99 names of God in use among Muhammadans. The name Kabír occurs in the Qorán six times as a title of Allah and once as a title of Al-Rabb.

The legend that calls attention to this fact presents a curious blend of Hindú and Muhammadan procedure. It is customary for Muhammadans to open a Qorán and give to the child the name on which the eye of the reader may first chance to fall ; it is customary for Hindûs to bestow upon a child a name containing three words usually beginning with the same letter and so similar in sound. This name is suggested by the position of the stars at the time of birth and is known as the *Ràs* or astronomical

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name. The three names, Akbar, Kubrá and Kibriyà said to have been found by the Qàzi in the Qorán are all derived from the same root KBR 'great.' Of these three names however only one, Kibriyá, is to be found in modern Qoráns. Of the three names Zinda, Khinjar and Pír, the first and third are Persian words and as such not found in the Qorán. Khinjar is probably a corruption of Khizar the name of the saint who is in the Qoràn associated with Moses.

A legend containing impossible details can hardly be regarded as a literal representation of historical fact.

Muhammadan tradition asserts that Kabír had a son, Kamál by name. This name also is of Arabic origin and so a source of difficulty to those who regard Kabír as a Hindu *sádhú*. There is a word *kammal*, a corruption of *kambal* (blanket) and in one version of the Kamál legend it is stated that Kabír caught sight of the child floating down the stream, wrapt up in a blanket and cried out, not "Kamál, Kamál" but "Kammal, Kammal."

Muhammadan tradition implies that Kabír like other Sufí leaders was a married man, but as, in accordance with Muhammadan custom, no mention is made of his wife's name, Hindùs were free to supply her with a Hindi name and chose Loi which also means a blanket.

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There is a possible reference to his wife in the following lines contained in the *Adi Granth*.

The first wife was ugly, of low caste, of ill-boding feature: wicked in the house of her father-in-law and in her father's house;

The present wife is beautiful, intelligent, of auspicious features, easily child-bearing.

These lines may be interpreted to mean that Kabír had lost his wife, but found comfort in closer union with God; or they may mean that the soul at first united with a material body rejoiced in the thought of becoming spiritually one with God.

In certain respects the legendary life of Kabír presents remarkable parallels to incidents in the life of Christ. After an account of the virgin birth we read that Kabír, as a boy, meets and worsts in argument a learned Pandit; he is criticised for associating with the outcasts of society; he miraculously supplies the poor with bread; he incurs the hostility of the religious leaders of his time; he raises from the dead a boy and a girl and is ministered to by women. The full account of his appearance before Sikandar Lodi presents in many details a striking resemblance to Christ's trial before Pilate.

The books containing these legends are of comparatively late date and the writers may

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have been influenced by a desire to assimilate the life of Kabír to that of Christ.

Many of the legends, especially some which have not been mentioned in this chapter seem to have originated in a desire to explain the circumstances under which some of Kabír's best known sayings were first spoken, or to associate the memory of Kabìr with persons and institutions held in special reverence by Hindùs. Several appear in different forms and nearly all contain details which must raise difficulties in the minds of all who are not overcredulous.

In the Dabistán, a Persian history, said to have been written by Mohsin Fani of Kashmir in the reign of Akbar, it is stated that Kabìr was a weaver and a Muwáhid *i.e.* a believer in one God. It is further stated that in his desire to find spiritual guidance he visited Muslim as well as Hindù sages, and finally became a disciple of Rámánand under the circumstances already recorded in this legend. Mention is also made of the following story :—

One day when certain Brahmins were expatiating on the purifying qualities of the Ganges water, Kabìr filled his wooden cup with water from the river and offered it to them to drink. They were horrified at the thought of drinking out of the cup belonging to a low caste man ; upon which Kabìr remarked, "If the Ganges

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water cannot purify my cup, how can I believe that it can wash away my sins ?"

The statement that Kabìr was a Juláhá and Muwáhid is confirmed by Abul Fazl and has never been contradicted. What we have to determine is the exact meaning of the statement. Hindús have assumed that Kabìr in early life actually followed the profession of a weaver and have quoted his use of weaving metaphors by way of illustration. This he may have done, but we must also bear in mind that it was customary for Muhammadans of that age to attach to their personal names the name of the profession with which their family had originally been associated. The term Muwàhid was not, so far as I can learn, ever applied by Muhammadans to those whom they regarded as idolaters. It implies that he was a Theist and not a Pantheist. The prevailing impression that Kabìr was a Pantheist appears to be based upon two false assumptions, (1) that he is responsible for all the teaching given by his Hindù followers at a later age and (2) that all the statements contained in the Bìjak represent his personal views. There is reason to believe that insufficient care has been taken in studying the context in which certain sayings occur; reason to fear that Kabìr has been credited with the argument of Máyá whom he at all times ruthlessly condemns.

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Great interest attaches to the mention of Shaiḳh Taqqi. According to the Hindú legends Shaiḳh Taqqi was the rival and opponent of Kabír, while Muhammadans regard him as his Pìr. In the *Kamaini* quoted in the previous chapter there is probably a reference to two Shaiḳh Taqqis whom later writers have not been always careful to distinguish.

Shaiḳh Taqqi of Mánikpur Karà was a *najàf*, (cotton cleaner) by profession and belonged to the Chistia order of Sufís. He is said to have died at Bhandarpur in 1545 but there is probably some mistake about the date. In the *Aina Oudh* it is stated that this Shaiḳh Taqqi was the disciple and successor of Shaiḳh Nathan Dáná who himself succeeded Shaiḳh Khwájah Kargh and that the last named died in 1305. Shaiḳh Taqqi was succeeded by his son Makán who founded a village in the Fatehpur district which is called after him Makanpur. His descendants are still to be found in that and the neighbouring villages. From the statement contained in the *Ramaini* it appears that Kabìr visited Mánikpúr and remained there for some time in attendance upon the Shaiḳh or his successors.

The Mánikpur referred to is situated on the Northern bank of the Ganges, between Fatehpur and Allahabad. It was for a short time the

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Military head quarters of the Emperor Sikandar Lodi. Near Mánikpur, but on the Southern bank of the river is Karà generally known as Karà Mánikpur, at that time a city of considerable importance, the Muhammadan capital of the surrounding country Karà.

Karà Mánikpur is the head quarters of a sect, called Malùk Dàssis. Members of this sect when on pilgrimage to Jagannáth are required to visit the Math of the Kabír Panthis and to receive there *Kabir ka Taráni* which consists of a piece of bread and a spoonful of sour rice water.[3]

At the same time it would seem that Kabìr was more closely associated with Shaiḳh Taqqi of Jhùsì[4] or his successors in office. This Shaiḳh was the son of Shaban-ul-Millat and belonged to the Soharwardíá order of Sufis. He died in 1429 (A. H. 785) and his tomb at Jhùsí is still a place of pilgrimage.[5] Kabìr is said to have been a young man of about 30 years of age when he first made the acquaintance of the Shaiḳh. At the time he desired to have as his Pìr one whose hand would ever remain over

(3) Maluk Dáss is said to have been born in 1574. The Granth of this sect includes *Gyàn Dipak*, *Sukh Nidán* and *Maluk Dàss ki Bhakti*. The two first are Kabir Panth writings. See Wilson, R. S. P. 102.

(4) Jhúsí stands near the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, in the immediate neighbourhood of Allahabad.

(5) In the *Aina Oudh* the father of Shaiḳh Taqqi is said to have been born in 1261.

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him to protect him from all evil. Shaiḳh Taqqi promised to help him in this way and proved true to his word, for even in the remote regions of Balḳh and Boḳhárá Kabìr saw the protecting hand of his Pìr stretched over him as that of a guardian angel.[6] When Kabìr returned from his wanderings and repaired to Jhùsì to pay his respects to his Master he felt the pangs of hunger and asked that he might have some food. The Shaiḳh provided him with some vegetables, cooked rice and some skimmed milk spiced with caraway seeds. Kabìr regarded these supplies as inadequate to the occasion and exclaimed :—

Ság, bhát, jirwáni máthà
Hamre Pir ke yehi hàtà.

Vegetable, rice, skimmed milk spiced with caraway :
These things only can be had in the market of my Pir.

The Shaiḳh was vexed with his ingratitude and replied:—

Yih chhor aur kya khàh hai màti,
Toh upar pare che màs ki táti.

Beside this what would you eat, earth?
May six months disease come over you.

As the result of this curse Kabír for six months suffered severely from attacks of diarrhœa. He rolled on the ground in agony and the two empty water courses in which he was

(6) The people of Jhúsi were not sure that Kabír actually visited those distant lands. They thought it possible that he merely closed his eyes and visited them in imagination.

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then compelled to pass his time are still to be seen, the one bearing the name of Kabìr Nálà and the other that of Lotan Nálá. At the end of six months he was once more permitted to approach his Pìr. He apologized for his past ingratitude and received a blessing from his Master. Kabír besought the Shaiḳh to bestow upon him such a blessing that he might be enabled to remove those differences of belief which separated Hindùs from Muhammadans. Shaiḳh Taqqi regretted that this lay beyond his power, but said that he would bring it about that both Hindús and Muhammadans should regard Kabìr himself with reverence. Kamal, the son of Kabìr when he heard of his father's request went to Shaiḳh Taqqi and requested him as his Pìr to release him from all further obligations to his father for he could never bring himself to look with favour upon Hindús. The Shaiḳh gave Kamál permission to go and settle at Jalálpur, some ten miles distant from Jhusì.

Kabìr was sorrowful when he learnt of his son's determination and exclaimed,

Dubba bans Kabìr kà upjà put Kàmál

The family of Kabir became extinct when his son Kamal was born.[7]

(7) A similar saying occurs in the Adi Granth: The progeny of Kabír dead; there was born a son Kamál. Having given up the remembrance of Hari, he has brought wealth to the house.

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Previous to the mutiny there was at Jhusi a large Mosque, associated with the memory of Shaiḳh Taqqi and endowed with landed property, bringing in an annual income of Rs. 100,000. After the mutiny the Mosque was destroyed and the lands confiscated.[8]

The various allusions to persons and places contained in the Ramaini quoted in the previous chapter have been a great cause of perplexity to Hindú readers of the Bijak. Manikpur they explained as being the city of the *man* (mind). Of Uji, a village near Kharauná in the district of Jaunpur, famous of old as the residence of some distinguished Muhammadan saint, they had never heard. When the people of Jhusi were asked about the 'Ikkis Pir' (twenty one Pir) they at once made mention of the Akela Peṛ (solitary tree), a large tree that stands alone and under which a Muhammadan saint used to take up his abode. The promptness of their reply suggested that the original text might have been emended by some Hindù who had never heard of the Akela Peṛ. Shaiḳh Akardi and Shaiḳh Saqardi who became a still greater cause of perplexity were according to local tradition the Tujáwar or caretakers of Shaiḳh Taqqi's shrine, who were regarded by

(8) Most of the information concerning Jhúsi traditions was supplied by Shah Fida Hussain, Government Pensioner, resident in Jhúsi.

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the people with so great respect that they were popularly known as Shaikhs.

We have probably written enough to show that it is not impossible that Kabír should have been both a Muhammadan and a Sufí. The picture of Kabír which forms the frontispiece of this volume and which is more likely to have been painted by a Hindú than by a Muhammadan represents him as having Muhammadan features, and his grave at Maghar has always been in the keeping of Muhammadans. That a Muhammadan should have been the Father of Hindi literature may indeed be a cause of surprise, but it must not be forgotten that Hindus also have gained distinction as writers of Persian poetry. Kabír, moreover, was a man of no ordinary ability and determination, and the purpose of his life was to get his message accepted by those who were best reached through the Hindí language.

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Chapter III.

The Teaching of Kabir.

In the days of Kabìr the power of the Brahmins was very great. As some would express it, the whole land was overcast by the dark clouds of priestcraft and sacerdotalism. Brahmanism, invigorated by its triumph over Buddhism, asserted its authority over all, until the Muhammadans invaded the country and gradually extended their influence throughout Northern India. Then people saw that there were men whose views about religion were radically different from those of their own Pandits; they became acquainted with men who were only with difficulty restrained on political grounds from exterminating all who refused to acquiesce in their own religious beliefs.

We are not in a position to say how far religious thinkers were encouraged by the presence of Muhammadans to give expression to the thoughts of their hearts, but there is no doubt that the presence of the followers of Islam stimulated thought on such subjects as caste, spiritual birth and the personality of God. Among the Muhammadans none were more ready than the Sufis to recognise the good in

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every form of belief and to dwell upon the love of God towards all his creatures.

Before considering the character of Kabìr's teaching we have first to determine what his teaching was. It seems probable that the teaching of Kabìr was delivered orally and not reduced to writing till a later age. The earliest writings in which his teaching is recorded are the Bijak and the Adi Granth. It is probable that neither of these books was composed till at least fifty years after the death of Kabìr, and they can hardly be regarded as retaining in all passages the actual words of the teacher, much less such words without additions.

Though it is inadvisable to express any definite opinion on such a subject, until the contents of the Bijak have been carefully examined and compared with the productions of a later age, yet there is reason to believe that the teaching of Kabìr has gradually become more and more Hindu in form. At any rate we have no right to assume that the teaching of Kabìr was identical with that given at the present time by the Mahants of the Panth that bears his name.

So far the contents of the Bijak have only been made known in part, and all who have studied the book allow that it contains many passages that are practically unintelligible to us of a later age, dark riddles which they are un-

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able to interpret. An exposition of teaching which is based upon a selection from selections, must of necessity be defective ; and may possibly be misleading, if regarded as an interpretation of the whole. A mind influenced by Christian thought is naturally inclined to dwell upon teaching that seems to have affinity with truths that it is in a position to appreciate Passages which to the original teacher may have seemed no less important are hurriedly passed over because the reader through lack of knowledge is unable to estimate their value.

Bearing in mind these limitations we will proceed to examine the teaching of Kabìr as illustrated by quotations from the Bijak and the Adi Granth.[1] We shall meet with teaching which will immediately call to mind passages of Scripture ;[2] we shall meet with condemnations of falsehood which, as regards directness of speech, should amply satisfy the feelings of the most militant type of Missionary. We shall admire the Teacher, alike for his sincerity and his courage.

THE WORLD AND RELIGION.

There are men who live in the world as though it were their permanent abode ; men

(1) See Additional Note on *Bijak*.

(2) To those who have a knowledge of the subject the references to Sufi teaching will probably appear to be very numerous.

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who take thought for the body and pay heed to its desires, as though it were a permanent possession ; men who accumulate riches as though they were free from the thraldom of death. Such men will never obtain true happiness, nor will they unravel the knots by which they are bound, until they look to God for help. He who would know God must die to the world. God is a jealous God who loves not those who entertain in their hearts love for another god. Man cannot serve God and mammon. Only those who give their entire heart to God will realise their true self. The knowledge of God is as a precious diamond, recognised only by those who are spiritually minded. The true servants of God are few in number, and to the worldly minded seem as men who are beside themselves.

All who live in this world are liable to temptation ; the black snake coils itself round the sandal tree. The poison of the snake received into the body works corruption and issues in death. Those alone escape who place their trust in God.

Selfishness and pride of intellect are the enemies of spiritual development.[3] Those only see God who have a forgiving spirit. The strug-

(3) Kabír's condemnation of pride and commendation of humility are much more in accordance with the teaching of Sufi Saints than with the practice of Hindu pandits.

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gle against evil is hard to maintain, but slothfulness is fatal. The opportunity lost may not recur. *Now* is the time to prepare for the journey that lies before us.

Illustrations.

(1). We are idols of clay, to which the name of man is given ; we are guests of four days, in a very great pit of fuel is our place. G.[4]

(2). The physician has died, the sick man has died, the whole world has died ; One, O Kabir, has not died, for whom is no weeper. G.

(3). O man, thou hast a precious body indeed. Thy flesh is not used. No ornaments are made of thy bones ; no drums are mounted with thy leather. B.

(4). Man in this world is wholly sinful from his very birth, and there are many ready to claim his body. The parents say, "He is our child and we have nourished him for our own benefit." The wife says, "He is my husband," and like a tigress wishes to seize him. The children gaze at him, and like the god of death, keep their mouths wide open for support. The vulture and the crow look forward to his death. The pigs and the dogs wait on the road for his bier to pass on its way to the burning ghat. The fire says, "I shall not leave him, until he is utterly consumed." The earth says, 'I shall obtain him.' The wind thinks of carrying him off. O ignorant people, you speak of this body as

(4) G indicates a quotation from the *Adi Granth ;* B a quotation from the Bijak.

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your house; do you not see that a hundred enemies hang about your throat. Beguiled by the illusion of this world, you regard such a body as your own. So many desire a share in your body that you will live in trouble all your life. O madmen, you do not wake up to a knowledge of this, but repeatedly say, 'It is mine, it is mine.' B.

(5). Adding kauri to kauri he brings together lakhs and crores.

At the time of departure he gets nothing at all, even his *langoti* is plucked away from him. G.

(6). To the miser wealth is given for the sake of keeping it. The fool says, 'The property is mine.'

When the staff of Yama strikes his head, the matter is decided in a moment. G.

(7) Immense riches and a kingdom which extends from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof could not equal the pleasure arising out of devotion (to God). Of what use then is wealth? B.

(8) Fire does not burn it, the wind does not carry it away, no thief comes near it; collect the wealth of the name of Rám, that wealth is never lost. G.

(9) For gold he is not obtained, Rám is obtained for the price of the heart. G.

(10) Without devotion life is spent to no purpose; without worshipping the Lord in the society of the pious, happiness remains in none. G.

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(11) The poor soul of man is tied to this world with many knots. It cannot unloose itself without the help of God. B.

(12) He (God) whom you seek, is near you. He is always near to his devotees and far from those who do not worship Him. B.

(13) Kabír says, Where shall I find a supremely loving saint who will give pleasure, destroy pain and remove all stains of sin? B.

(14) Who whilst living, goes on dying, he lives again; in this wise he is absorbed in space; he who remains in the darkness, unaffected by the darkness, is no more thrown into the sea of existence. G.

(15) Now my mind on the contrary has become eternal; then the mind is known, when one dies when living. G.

(16) At the bank of a river and at a Tirthá there is no reassurance for the mind of him who is clinging to light ways. G.

(17) What is muttering, what austerity, what vows and worship to him in whose heart there is another love? G.

(18) What is muttering, what austerity and control of the passions, what vows and ablutions; so long as the right, loving worship of the Lord is not known? G.

(19) In the heart there is a looking-glass, the face is not seen in it; then only you will see the face when the doubleness of the heart is removed. B.

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(20) The pure diamond is sold for plates of gold. He who knows not its value, what will he do with it? B.

(21) The diamond was lying on the road, besmeared with ashes: many in their ignorance passed it by, but the diamond specialist picked it up. B.

(22) Pearls are scattered on the road; the blind draw near and depart; without the light of the Lord, the world passes them by. G.

(23) The black snake is in the heart. It has deposited venom in the souls of all; the few who sincerely worship the true God, will be saved. B.

(24) Why should one suffer a dog to listen to the *Smritis*? why should one sing the praises of Harí in the presence of a *Sakat*? that Rám, Rám is contained in all should on no account be told to a *Sakat*; why should one suffer a crow to feed on camphor? why should one give a black snake milk to drink? the instruction of the foolish is waste of knowledge; a maund of soap cannot wash charcoal white. G.

(25) Sandal, restrain thy fragrance, on thy account the wood is cut down; the living slay the living and regard only the dead. B.

(26) He is naturally called drunk, who is drinking the juice of Rám and meditating on Divine knowledge. G.

(27) If one take nectar and besprinkle a *nim* tree, its nature does not leave it, says Kabír. G.

(28) Venomous snakes have twined round the

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sandal tree. What can the sandal do? in every pore venom has soaked in, where shall nectar enter ? B.

(29) The snake of separation has attached itself to the body, and darted its fangs into the heart. Into the body of the Sadhu it finds no admission: prepare yourself for what may happen. B.

(30) In the small pond, O fish, the net is spread by the fisherman ; in this small pond thou wilt not escape, think again of the ocean. G.

(31) The pride of intellect is manifold, now a swindler, now a thief ; now a liar, now a murderer ; men, sages and gods have run after it in vain ; its mansion has a hundred gates. B.

(32) In pride there is adversity, in sin there is suffering ; in kindness there is stability, and in forgiveness there is God. B.

(33) Unless you have a forgiving spirit, you will not see God. You may speechify as much as you like, but without a forgiving nature you will never reach Him. B.

(34) He who enters into intimacy with the highest light, he subdues the five senses. Religious merit and demerit, both he discards. G.

(35) What thou art doing tomorrow, do now ; what thou art doing now, do at once : afterwards nothing will be done, when death comes on thy head. G.

(36) Now is the time to prepare, henceforth the path is difficult ; the travellers all hasten to purchase, where there is neither trade nor market. B.

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(37) The righteous man does not give up his piety, though he meet with crores of wicked persons: even as the sandal tree is not deprived of its cooling properties though venomous snakes twine round it. B.

(38). With the *Sakat* company should not be kept, one should flee far from him; if a black vessel is touched, some stain is received. G.

RELIGION IN LIFE.

God is one; how has it come about that there are many religions? All men are of one blood; how comes it about that they are separated by religion and by caste? God is one; the Hindus are therefore at fault in their worship of many gods. These are in truth the creation of Máyá; they have their origin in sin and are themselves the cause of sin in others.

Muhammadans put their trust in circumcision, Hindús adore the Vedás and the beauties of Nature. The things which are seen are transitory. True worship should have as its object the unseen source of all truth, the unseen Creator of the universe.

The Hindús bathe in sacred streams, go on pilgrimage to sacred places, bow down to images of brass and stone, and think that in so doing they are honouring God. In this they are mistaken. What God desires is purity of heart;

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to rest in symbols that should lead men on to God is to be guilty of idolatry.

Hindús and Muhammadans alike profess to fast, but curb not the desires of the flesh ; they praise God with their lips, but their hearts are far from Him. All such religion is vain.

Muhammadans repeat prayers and texts of scripture which they cannot understand ; Hindús believe in gods who destroy men, sport with milkmaids and assume the form of animals. All such religion is vain.

Vain too are the distinctions of caste. All shades of colour are but broken arcs of light, all varieties in human nature are but fragments of true humanity. The right to approach God is not the monopoly of Brahmins but is freely granted to all who are characterised by sincerity of heart. He who reflects on Brahm is rightly called a Brahmin. The distinctions observed by Hindús are merely productive of that pride which God abhors. The rules regarding impurity deal merely with externals and cleanse not the thoughts of the heart.

Hindús believe in transmigration. If they would be free from the trials of this world, let them meditate on the Supreme and attend the courts of His temple.

Above all things let men speak and practise the truth. Suffer all men to worship God ac-

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cording to their convictions. Be not the slaves of tradition and love not controversy for its own sake. Fear not to walk upon unbeaten tracks, if such tracks bring you near to Him who is the truth.

Men are saved by faith and not by works. None can understand the mind of God; put your trust in Him; let Him do what seemeth Him good. Spiritual joy is felt, though it cannot be expressed in words. To set forth the glory of God is a task beyond the powers of human language. Those who put their trust in God are no longer subject to fear. Perfect love casteth out fear.

Illustrations.

(39) God, light, sound and one woman; from these have sprung Harí, Brahma and Tripurari. Innumerable are emblems of Shiva and Bhaváni, which they have established, but they know not their own beginning nor end. A dwelling has been prepared for them: Hari, Brahmá and Shiva are the three headmen and each has his own village. B.

(40) I and you are of one blood, and one life animates us both; from one mother is the world born; what knowledge is this which makes us separate? B.

(41) All have come from the same country and have landed at one ghat, but the evil influences of this world have divided us into innumerable sects. B.

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(42) From whence have Hindus and Turks come? By whom have these ways been started? Having searched and reflected in thy mind tell me. By whom have Paradise and Hell been made? G.

(43) By force and love circumcision is made: I shall not agree to it, O brother. If God will make me a Turk by him will I be circumcised: if a man becomes a Turk by being circumcised, what shall be done with a woman? She must remain a Hindu. G.

(44) If your *Khuda* wished circumcision, he would have sent you circumcised into the world. If by circumcision you become a Muhammadan in that case what should you do with your women. A woman is said to be the half of man; being so, would she remain a Hindu? If by wearing the sacred thread a man becomes a Brahmin then what do your women wear? They by birth are Shudrins, why should you being a *Pande* take the meal placed by them before you? Whence have the Hindus and Muhammadans come? Who has started these religious systems. Think well in your hearts who has obtained heaven. O mad man, give up the illusion of this world. O brethren, you resist (the warnings of conscience.) Kabir is on the road to God and is marching on to his end, forsaking all partial views. B

(45) Is Brahma great, or he by whom he is produced? Is the Veda great or he from whom it is come? G.

(46) What thou seest, that is passing away: whom thou dost not see, on him continue to reflect.

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When in the tenth gate the key is given: then the sight of the merciful one is obtained. G.

(47) A well-made picture is of high value: leave the picture and think of the painter. B.

Variously coloured is this immense world: leaving the picture, keep the painter in thy thoughts. G.

(48) O Saints, the world has gone mad; if I tell the truth it comes down upon me to kill me, but believes a lie. I have seen the devout and the pious who regularly bathe in the mornings. They forsake God and worship stones; in them there is no wisdom.....They have commenced to worship brass and stones and are proud of their pilgrimages. They wear garlands, caps and frontal marks and chhaps on their arms, and engage in singing the praises of their gods; they have forsaken God." B.

(49) The beads are of wood, the gods of stone, the Ganges and the Jumna are water. Ràma and Krishna are dead. The four Vedás are fictitious stories. B.

(50) If by worshipping stones one can find God, I shall worship a mountain: better than these stones (idols) are the stones of the flour mill with which men grind their corn. B.

(51) Although I entreat much, even falling at their feet, with tears in my eyes, the Hindus do not forsake idol-worship and the Muhammadans are too stiff-necked to hear anything. B.

(52) For the sake of bathing, there are many Tirthâs, O foolish mind; for the sake of worshipping

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there are many idols. Kabir says, No emancipation is thus obtained, emancipation is in the service of Hari. G

(53) If by immersion in the water salvation be obtained, the frogs bathe continually. As the frogs, so are these men, again and again they fall into the womb. G.

(54) A stone is shaped by the hammer and formed into an image, with breasts and feet; If this image be true, then it will eat the hammerer. G.

(55) Kabìr says, I am completely at a loss; Is the Tirthà great or the servant of Harì? G.

(56) As long as the sun does not rise the stars sparkle; so as long as perfect knowledge (of God) is not obtained men practice ritualism. B.

(57) The water is near but the cattle do not drink in wading through it. By continually remembering Harì water issues. That water is pure, says Kabìr. G.

(58) Within his heart is filthiness; though he bathe at a Tirthà, he will not go to Paradise. By the belief of the people nothing is effected, Ràm is not ignorant. G.

(59) The Hindùs fast on the 11th of the light half of each month for singhárá (a sort of fruit) and milk. They give up food during the day, but do not curb the evil passions of their heart and take meat. The Muhammadans keep fasts, repeat the *namáz* and (early in the morning) cry aloud "Bismil"

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like the crowing of a cock.....Kabìr says, "O saints do not call on Ràma or Khudà." B.

(60) O Moulvi, what books are you explaining? Although day and night you remain babbling and jabbering you have not found out the one (true) religion. B.

(61) All have exclaimed, Master, Master, but to me this doubt arises; How can they sit down with the Master, whom they do not know? G.

(62) The mind knows everything and knowingly commits vices; what is the good of the lamp, if with it in his hand a man falls into the well? G.

(63) Follow the true Sàhib (God) who will uphold you in all your trials. He was not born in Dasrath's family and did not oppress the king of Lanká. Jasodá did not fondle him in her lap and he did not enter the womb of Devákí. He did not ravage the world. He did not descend into *Pátál* to deceive Bali. He did not fight with King Bali nor did he kill Hiranyaksh, throwing him down on the ground. He did not assume the form of a boar nor did he destroy the Kshattríyas. He did not hold the Gobar Dhana on the tip of his fingers nor did he remain in the jungle with the milkmaids (of Muttra and Brindaban). He is neither *shalgrámà*, nor any other stone; he is not fish, nor tortoise, dwellers in the water. He died not at Dwaràwati nor was his corpse buried at Jagannàth. Kabìr proclaims, let none follow such teachings; he whom

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they believe to be of gross and material elements is of subtle principles. B.

(64) Brahma is dead with Shiva who lived in Kàshi; the immortals are dead. In Muttra Krishna, the milkman, died. The ten incarnations are dead. Machhindra Nàth, Gorakh, Dattátreya and Vyàs are no longer living. Kabír says, with a loud voice; "All these persons have fallen into the slip-knot of death." B.

(65) Whilst dwelling in the womb, there is no clan nor caste; from the seed of Brahm the whole creation is made.

Say, O Pandit, When were the Brahmins made; by saying, "I am a Brahmin," thy life and religion are lost.

If thou art a Brahmin born of a Brahmin woman; why hast thou not come in another way?

Whose art thou, the Brahmin? Whose am I, the Sudrà; whose blood am I? whose milk art thou?

Kabir says, Who reflects on Brahm, he by me is called a Brahmin. G.

(66) Colour proceeds from colour, yet behold all are but one; of what colour then is life? Think well of this. G.

(67) By the touch of others you Brahmins consider yourselves polluted. Let me ask you, who is lower than you? You are puffed up with pride. Great pride never produces any good. How will he who is called the vanquisher of the proud bear with your pride?

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(68) There is impurity in water, impurity in earth; there is impurity at the time of birth, there is impurity in the hour of death, there is impurity in destruction (corruption of the body ?)

In the eyes is impurity, in the speech is impurity and in the ears impurity.

In rising and sitting impurity clings to man, impurity falls into the food.

The way of ensnaring every one knows, but few only the way of escape.

Kabìr says, those who reflect in their heart on Ràm, in them no impurity is found. G.

(69) As fixed and movable things, as worms and moths, in many and various ways have we been born.

Many such houses will be inhabited by us, till at length we return to the womb of Ràm. G.

(70) Having wandered through the 84 lakhs of wombs he has come into the world ; now having gone out of the body he has no spot nor place. G.

(71) Kabír says, Meditate thou on the Supreme. Go to his house, that thou come not again. G.

(72) Clear away the pain of birth and death, the pleasure of works, that the soul may be liberated from rebirth. G.

(73) To be truthful is best of all, if the heart be truthful. A man may speak as much as he likes : but there is no pleasure apart from truthfulness. B.

(74) He who has no check upon his tongue, no truth in his heart : with such a one keep

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not company. He will kill you on the highway. B.

(75) No act of devotion can equal truth ; no crime is so heinous as falsehood ; in the heart where truth abides, there is my abode. G.

(76) If you are a true dealer, open the market of veracity ; keep clean your inward man, and repel oppression to a distance. G.

(77) Put a check upon the the tongue ; speak not much ; associate with the wise; investigate the words of the teacher. G.

(78) Let truth be your rate of interest, and fix it in your heart; a real diamond should be purchased; the mock gem is waste of capital. G.

(79) I have examined the religious doctrines of Muhammadans and Hindús. They do not lay aside their bigotry for the sake of relish for their tongues. B.

(80) Kabír cries aloud to his fellows, "Ascend the sandal ridge; whether there be a road prepared or not, what matters it to me?" G.

(81) O God, thou knowest thine own movements, I have no power to know them. Kabír says, "In this the world has erred and has been led into doubt." B.

(82) Thy name is my support, as the flower will grow out of the lotus stalk. Kabír says, I am the slave of thy house, vivify or kill me, as it pleases thee G.

(83) As many as are making efforts, they are drowned ; the ocean is not crossed by them.

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Though they be performing works, and many abstinences, their mind is burnt by egotism. G.

(84) Kabír says, I am a sacrifice to my own Gurú, by whom I remain in connexion with the society of the pious. G.

(85) O Madhava, my thirst for water does not cease ; in drinking the water the fire increases still more.

Thou art the ocean, I am the fish of the water; I dwell in the water ; without the water, I am done for. G.

(86) In me there is nothing mine ; whatever there is, that is thine. In entrusting what is thine to thee, what remains mine? G.

(87) If a dumb person eats molasses, what can he say about it when questioned? G.

(88) If I make the seven oceans ink, if I make the trees my pen, if I make the earth the paper, the glory of Harí cannot be written? G.

(89) If fear of God springs up, fear goes; then fear is absorbed in the fear of God.

If the fear of God subsides, then fear again cleaves to man ; when a man loses the fear of God, fear springs up in his heart ; he dies. G.

(90) Where the fearless one is, there is no fear, where fear is, there Harí is not ; Kabír says, having reflected in his mind ; "Hear this, O ye saints." G.

(91) On the day on which I died, on that day joy sprang up. The Lord met with me, Govind honours his own companion. G.

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(92) Death of which the world is afraid, is joy to my mind ; by death the full perfect joy is obtained. G.

THE WAY TO GOD.

Kabir was a great believer in quiet reflection as a means of approach to God.

He recognised that the ancient scriptures of both Muhammadans and Hindùs were of a certain value, but felt that their value had been greatly overestimated.

Through the understanding of the heart and mind man becomes conscious of God's existence. Thoughts and feelings are expressed in words, words are composed of letters. All that is of use in communicating to man a knowledge of God has a significance that may well be regarded as sacred. What is multiform now will hereafter be seen to be single. The 52 letters[5] will give place to the one letter which denotes man's union with God. The revelation of God, given in Rám, surpasses all other revelations in simplicity and purity, but the unity of Truth has not as yet been fully apprehended.

Through his own powers man cannot attain to a knowledge of God; but God will reveal Himself to those who listen to his voice. He

(5) Kabír probably reckoned that there were 52 consonants in Sanskrit and Arabic, the sacred languages of Hindùs and Muhammadans.

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alone overcomes doubts and truly lives who has welcomed this message in his heart.

Strange and sad it seems to those who have experienced a knowledge of the Truth that men should be content to grope on still in darkness.

Men are not equally endowed with spiritual insight. The mass of men must seek guidance of those who have, through a knowledge of God, discovered for themselves the way. The Hindus trust in vain to those who wear the symbol of sacrifice while they lead lives of pride and self-indulgence. Helmsmen of this kind will never bring the boat to the haven where it should be. Others there are who practise all kinds of austerities, but mistaking the means for the end find not the true path. Those who escape not themselves from death, are unable to impart to others the gift of life.

The true guide is one whose love is fixed on God; who recognises his own worthlessness apart from God; who lives for others and god-like himself has entered into life. For such a one death has lost its terrors. He is the true ascetic and walks in the path of life.

Illustrations.

(93) O Qàzi, What book is expounded by thee; all such as are pondering on the book are killed; no one has obtained true knowledge; give up the book, adore Ràm, O foolish one; thou art practis-

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ing heavy oppression. Kabìr puts his trust on Ràm; the Turks are consumed and defeated.

(94) Thou expoundest the book right that Allah is no woman or man; but by reading and perusing nothing is effected, when there is no information in the heart. G.

(95) By the Turk God is known from worship, by the Hindù from the Veda and Puranas; in order to form the mind divine knowledge should be read to some extent. G.

(96) Thou shouldst ride on thy own reflection; thou shouldst put thy foot into the stirrup of tranquility of mind. Kabìr says, Those are good riders who keep aloof from the Veda and Qoran. G.

(97) I know that reading is good, but better than reading is meditation; the attachment to Ràm I do not give up, though people revile me. G.

(98) The 52 letters are joined together by me, but I am not able to know one letter; Kabìr tells the word of the true one; who becomes a Pandit, he remains fearless.

The profession of the Pandit is for the sake of the people; he who is skilled in divine knowledge, he reflects the truth. In whose heart such an understanding is; he will know it, says Kabír. G.

(99) Remove doubt, put aside the paper; having investigated the 52 letters apply thy mind to the feet of Harì. G.

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(100) As the stars at dawn pass away, so the world passes away; these two letters (Râm) do not pass away, them Kabîr has seized. G.

(101) There are many words and there is a great difference between them: accept the true word. Kabîr says he who has found the true word, has no pleasure in this life. B.

(102) My word is of the word; hear it, go not astray; if man wishes to know the truth, let him investigate the word. G.

(103) By the power of the word the sin of this world is distroyed. The word makes kings forsake their kingdoms. He who has investigated the word has done his work well. B.

(104) Without hearing the word it is utter darkness; say, whither shall anyone go; without finding the gateway of the word, man will ever be astray. G.

(105) Without the word the Shâstras are blind. Say whither shall one go? They do not find the gateway of the word but grope on still in darkness. B.

(106) There are many words, but take the pith of them; he who takes not the essence, says Kabîr, will live a profitless life. G.

(107) Doubt has triumphed over the whole world. No one has overcome it. He who finds out the word will overcome it. B.

(108) Think whence the world has come and where has it established itself. Kabîr says, I am a

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lover of the word which has shown me the unseen (God). B.

(109) I have wept for this world but no one has wept with me; he alone will weep with me who understood the word. B.

(110) All speak of God, but to me this doubt arises, how can they sit down with God whom they do not know? B.

(111) Thou pasturest us, never bringing us to the other side; Thou art a Brahmin, I am a weaver of Kàshi, understand my divine knowledge. Thou petitionest Kings and Rájàs, my meditation is with Harí. G.

(112) The jogìs, ascetics, austere devotees and Sànyasìs wander about at many Tirthas; those with plucked out hair, those with munj cord, the silent ones, those who are wearing plaited hair, all are dying at the end; the Tantras are attended to by them, but not Rám; on whose tongue is put the name of Rám. What can Yàmà do to him? The Shastras, Vedas, astrology and many, many grammars they know; they know the Tantras, Mantras and all medicines, yet at the end they must die; they enjoy dominion, an umbrella and many beautiful women; betel, camphor, perfume and sandal, yet at the end they must die; all the Vedas, Puranas and Smritis are searched by them but in no wise are they spared; Kabír says, Utter Ràm, he extinguishes birth and death. G.

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(113) "The Pundits are in error by reading the Vedas. They have no common sense. They daily go through their morning and evening rites and other ceremonies with great punctuality and regularity. They have caused the Gayatri to be read and repeated in the four yugs; ask them who has obtained freedom from sin by doing so? They consider themselves polluted by the touch or others: ask them who is lower then they are?" B.

(114) Who wear dhotís of three yards and a half and three fold cords; on whose necks are rosaries, and in whose hands are white lotas; these cheats of Benares are not called the Saints of Harí Having scoured the vessels they put them on, having washed the wood they light it; digging out the earth they make two fire places, but eat whole men. G.

(115) If by wandering about naked union with Harí be obtained; then every deer of the forest will become emancipated.

What are the naked? What are those with skins? When they do not know the Supreme ?

If by shaving the head, perfection is obtained; the sheep is emancipated, no one is lost.

Kabír says, Hear, O man and brother; without the name of Rám no one has obtained salvation. G.

(116) In our house the string of the body is continually stretched out; on thy breast is a sacrificial thread; Thou readest the Veda and Gyatri; in our heart dwells Govind.

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On my tongue is Vishnú, in my eyes Narayan, in my heart dwells Govind; when at the gate of Yámá he will ask thee, O fool, What wilt thou say to Mukand?

We are the cattle, thou art the cowherd, O Lord, who art our keeper through the several births

(117) What can he do whose teacher is blind? The blind pushes the blind and both fall into a well. B.

(118) How is it possible to reach the city when the guide cannot point out the road; when the boat is crazy, how shall the passengers get clear of the ghat? G.

(119) The man who fixes his love on the true teacher is contained in him. They could not be separated they have two bodies but one spirit. B.

(120) I am the worst of all, every one is good except me; who considers himself in this light, he is my friend. G.

(121) The tree bears not fruit for itself, nor for itself does the stream collect its waters; for the benefit of others alone does the safe assume a bodily shape. G.

(122) The body is wounded by a spear; the head is broken off and left in the flesh; it cannot be extracted without the loadstone; a thousand other stones are of no avail. G.

(123) From heaven and hell I am freed by the favour of the true Gurú; I remain in the wave of the lotus foot at the end and the beginning. G.

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(124) In this society thou wilt not die; if thou knowest his order, thou wilt be united with the Lord. G.

(125) Death, by which the whole world is frightened; that death is lighted up by the word of the Gurú. G.

(126) Making divine knowledge and meditation his patched quilt, and the word the needle, he puts the thread into the head of the needle; making the five elements his deer-skin he walks in the way of the Gurú. G.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES.

The Bijak.

The *Bijak* (Account Book or Invoice) is recognised as the authoritative exposition of Kabír's teaching. It was probably produced about 1570, or some 20 years before the teaching of Nának was embodied in the *Adi Granth* by Gurú Arjun, the fifth Gurú of the Sikh Community. Most of the sayings attributed to Kabír in the *Adi Granth* are also to be found in the *Bijak*, though the editor of the *Granth* has not scrupled to re-arrange the subject matter.

There are several printed editions of the *Bijak*. The two best known editions are both supplied with a commentary, the one by Maharajah Bishwa Nath Singh of Rewah* and the other by Baba Puran Dass. The former edition has been printed at Benares, Lucknow and Bombay, and also without the commentary at Gaya; the latter at Lucknow and Allahabad (1905). Of the former it is said that "the editor has tried to expound the *Saguna Upasana* of Ráma through the teaching of Kabír, where by the term *Saguna Upasana* is meant the religious contemplation of Ráma as the embodiment of all good

*In the life of Kabir by Munshi Mohan Lall, Kayasth of Lucknow, a work which is largely based upon Anurag Sagar, it is stated that Kabir visited Turkistan and on his return spent some time with the Maharajah of Rewah by whom he was most hospitably received. In return for kindness received Kabir promised the Maharajah who at the time was childless that his descendants should sit upon his throne for 42 generations.

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qualities." This edition is not well thought of by Kabîr Panthis. The author of the second Commentary, Baba Puran Dass, lived at Nagjhari, in the district of Burhanpur, C. P., and flourished about 1837.

The Rev. Prem Chand of the Baptist Mission, Monghyr, had another edition printed in Calcutta in 1890. The editor of this edition writes:—

"Some thirty years ago I was lent a manuscript copy of the *Bijak*, taken from the Murshidabad edition. This I had copied out and afterwards compared my copy with others from different parts of the country. I found in these a certain number of *Dohas* (couplets) which were not in my copy and these I had printed at the end of the book. The other poetical pieces were the same in all editions. I corrected various clerical errors and separated words which had been allowed to run into one another and added a few foot-notes to make the meaning clear to any ordinary Hindi scholar."

This edition contains 83 *Ramaini*, 113 *Shabda*, 33 hymns of various kinds and 364 *Sakhis*. To these have been added 60 *Sakhis* found in other editions.

The Rev. Ahmad Shah in the translation of the *Bijak* that he has now in hand will probably throw additional light on literary problems connected with this book.

The Doctrine of Shabda (Word.)

A doctrine which might be so described is taught in many of the Hindu religious sects, but it is not

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easy to determine in each particular case either the origin or character of this teaching.

In the writings of Kabìr three thoughts seem to underlie such teaching (1) All thought is expressed in language, (2) Every letter of the alphabet, as a constituent part of language, has significance, and (3) The plurality of letters and words now in use will appear as one, when the Máyà that deludes men in their present condition shall have been overcome. The two-lettered Rám seems to Kabìr the nearest approach in this world to the unity of Truth or the letterless one.

A distinguished Sanskrit scholar explained to me the Hindù conception of Shabda somewhat in this way. Man desires knowledge. Knowledge is obtainable by means of (1) Perception and (2) Inference. These two channels are acknowledged by all and to them are added by some (3) *Shabda*, sound (including the voice of the teacher?) and (4) *Uparnam* or reasoning by analogy.

By Mimansists all verbal information is regarded as authoritative in itself, unless it can be shown to be derived from a corrupt source. Those who deny that the Vedàs are eternal or self-derived should prove that the source from which they are derived is tainted. The Mimansists do not believe in a personal God but there are others who accept this teaching and also believe in the personality of God. Such regard the Vedas as a God-given revelation.

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The term *Shabda* does not occur in the Vedàs, but in one Hymn *Vak* (Speech) is personified.

For further information this scholar referred me to the third volume of John Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, which deals with the Vedàs, their origin, inspiration and authority.

It is not improbable that this doctrine, as set forth in the literature of the Kabir Panth has been influenced by the writings of St. John, as is confessedly the case as regards the teaching of the Ràdhi Swàmi Sect of modern origin. In the Hindì translation of the New Testament Logos (Word) is represented by *Bachan* and not by *Shabda*.

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Chapter. IV

Sákhis attributed to Kabír.

All Kabír Panthis have at their command a considerable number of Sákhis or rhyming couplets, bearing witness to the truth.[1] The rhythm of many of these is very fine, with the result that important teaching given in this form is easily remembered.

It is not at all likely that all the Sákhis attributed to Kabír were really uttered by him, but most of them are in substance consistent with teaching to be met with in the Bijak. A good linguist would probably, on linguistic grounds, reject many as of later origin.[2]

Many of the Sákhis embody teaching such as was current among Sufís and embodied in Persian poetry. Some suggest verses of the Bible or Qorán, some in a slightly different form have been attributed to other authors and may be regarded as expressing truths generally current in the country. We may safely credit Kabír with a considerable amount of originality

(1) Sakhi is the corruption of a Sanskrit word meaning evidence.

(2) For the benefit of Hindí scholars this collection of Sakhis has also been printed in the original Hindí. A collection of 2,500 Kabír Sákhis has been published at the Advocate Press, Lucknow, price One Rupee.

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and, even where originality seems unlikely, feel grateful to him for the genius with which he has given expression to old thoughts.[3]

In making this selection I have been guided by the judgement of Kabír Panthis and also by own judgement as regards the subject matter and the rhythm of the original. I have allowed a certain number of Sákhis to retain their place in this collection in spite of the fact that they have been previously quoted.

(1) My Lord's a store supplier great, in merchandise he deals; nor beams nor scales, in his own hands this great world weighs and feels. *Fallon.*

Sháms Tabrez wrote :—

Who is that person who weighs and distributes without scales or measure, yet his measuring and distribution is correct ?

(2) He who made the whole world, that Gurú was manifested; the Gurú who saw him with his eyes, that Gurú revealed Him to men.

Cf 1 Jn. i 3-1.

(3) One poor spirit bound with many ties; in its own strength it cannot escape, till *God* rescue it.

(3) It has seemed best to omit all reference to possible sources, until so complicated a subject has been more thoroughly investigated.

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Piw, the word translated God, is a term applied to husband by wife ; the loved one.

(4) The chelá whose Gurú is blind, while he himself is more blind ; the blind one gives a push to his blind fellow; they both fall into the well.

Neither understands the truth ; one pushes this way, the other another; both come to grief.

(5) The soul (Atmá) and the great soul (Paramátmá) for many ages remained apart; the true Gurú came as a dealer (*dallál*) and made of them a beateous mixture.

(6) A sinner from my birth, in sin from head to foot I lie ; O generous giver, comforter, but listen to my cry. (*Fallon*)

With the reading in the ordinary Hindi text, translate second line, "O God, remover of pain, deliver me".

(6) A Gurú should be as a knife grinder; the rust of a life time he removes in a moment.

(7) Regard your Gurù as a knife grinder, let him grind your heart ; cleansing the heart from all impurity, let him make it bright as a mirror.

(8) Kál hovers over the head, Kál comes not into sight; Kabír says, Lay hold of the Gurú's words(the Mantra) that he may rescue your soul from death.

(9) The Gurú is the potter and the disciple the vessel ; he removes all defects. He places the

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support (*sahárà*) within before with blows he fashions the vessel into shape.

The *Hahárá* or *Sahárá* is an instrument of wood or stone which with one hand the potter holds within the jar while with the other he strikes. In this way, the wall of the jar is able to resist the force of the blows administered by the other hand from without. The public may be deceived into thinking that the Gurú is cruel in his treatment of the chelá. See picture of Potter.

(10) As he revolves his rosary, life passes away and he knows not the secrets of his heart; throw away the rosary of the hand and revolve the rosary of the heart.

There is a double play upon words:—*Man*=heart, *manka*=rosary; *Pher*=secrets, *Pher* also=revolve.

(11) A man steals an anvil, and offers a needle as alms; he climbs aloft to see how distant is the chariot.

The man who makes this miserable offering thinks that God will be so pleased with his generosity that he will at once send a chariot to fetch him to heaven.

Fallon translates thus:—

He steals an anvil and a needle gives in charity; he then the house top mounts to see how far's heaven's chariot sent for me.

(12) Apart from life, life comes not into existence, life lives on life; refuse not to have pity on life; Pandit, take thought on this.

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is completed.

(14) A man may be a great preacher, as the vulture soars in the sky; but its food is on the earth; does flying in the air make of it a saint?

Preaching in itself is useless, unless the life corresponds. The vulture may fly in the sky, but on the earth it devours refuse and so can never be respected.

(15) Whatever I have is not my own it is thine; it is thine own that I give thee; what have I?

(16) Strain your water before you drink it; test your Gurú before you commit yourself to him.

(17) The humble obtain salvation to a man, so many as are submissive; those sink who are puffed up with the pride of high birth.

The reference here is to the ocean of rebirths; the humble-minded reach the further shore in safety; the proud sink in the waters and escape not from the troubles of this world.

(18) When the Gurú is covetous, his disciple will be grasping; both employ trickery; both will be drowned in their folly, having boarded a ship of stone.

The chela to protect himself from the greed of the Gurú conceals the extent of his possessions. At first he was tricked into owning that he had property, but not a second time; he tricked the gurú. In this way both fail to cross the ocean of rebirths. In one of the Kabír legends, it is said that Kabír was placed on board a boat loaded with stones that it might sink in mid stream, but he miraculously escaped. The idea may have been suggested by this *sákhi*.

(19) From one country have they come; at one *ghát* have they disembarked. They have breathed the air of the world, and on twelve paths have they gone their way.

Bârah bát is a proverbial expression, scattered, dispersed, cast to the winds. All men are of one blood, all are born of human parentage, caste distinctions, invented of men, are productive of much evil. Fallon translates :—

All from one country come, alighted also at one port; by winds of wordly passion driven, all scattered are in sport.

(20.) The lascivious, the ill-tempered and the covetous, for such devotion to God is impossible. Brave is the man who for devotion to God is ready to give up caste and family.

(21) Small is the door of devotion (*Bhakti*), as the tenth part of a mustard seed. The heart of man is swollen with pride to the size of an elephant, how can he pass within?

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knowledge of the true Gurú, whatever their caste, are *chamárs.*

Rom rom the hairs on the human body ; there is no spot where there is no hair, no point at which the great do not display pride.

(23) The worship of a devotee and the water of a torrent in the rains, both flow deep ; but that only should be called a river which continues to flow in the hot weather (Jeth= June.)

The devotee whose devotion depends upon prosperity is no true devotee.

(24) He who sows for you thorns, for him do you sow flowers ; you will have flowers at the time of flowering ; he will find a *trisùl.*

Trisúl may signify a large thorn or it may mean that such a one will be punished by Shiva.

(25) Do not oppress the weak, their sighs have great power ; by the puffs of the bellows iron is converted to flames (*or* is utterly consumed.)

If the puffs from the skin of a dead animal can do so much, how much more will the sighs of the living effect. The skin of goats, buffaloes and bullocks are used as bellows.

(26) Be true to God and loving to his servants whether your hair be long or entirely removed.

Many Bairàgìs shaved their heads. To Kabìr such matters were of trivial importance.

(27) The *ghat* in which love dwells not, know that *ghat* to be a burning *ghat* (Masán); that heart is as the blacksmith's bellows which breathe, but have no life.

There is here a play upon the word *Ghat*. *Ghat* which=a vessel, is often used of the human heart. *Ghat*, is also used, as=ghat, the burning *Ghat* where the bodies of the dead are burnt.

(28) Love grows not in the fields nor is it on sale in the bazar; the man devoid of love will be bound and cast into hell. (*Yámpúr*, the city of Yám.)

(29) He may drink the cup of love who gives his all (lit. his head) to God; the covetous cannot give all, but only know the name of love, *or* He drinks the cup of love who lays down his life for others; he who works for reward, merely speaks of love.

(30) A man may read many books before he dies and yet not be a Pandit; he is a Pandit who understands the two and a half letters which form the word Love.

(31) There is no work of merit equal to truth and no sin equal to falsehood; in whose

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heart Truth dwells, in his heart dwells God himself.

(32) Those who say and do not are great liars; in the end, when God holds his Durbár, they will be thrust out.

Dhakka khànà is a phrase applied to badmàshes, thrust out of all respectable society.

(33) When the sun rises, darkness disappears; before the wisdom of the Gurú the corrupt thoughts of men disappear; covetousness destroys sound judgement and pride devotion to God.

(34) Weeds destroy the crops; the ignorant destroy the assembly; covetousness spoils devotion, as a mixture of earth destroys the value of saffron.

(35) Those who sought found, diving down into deep waters; the heron in its helplessness remained sitting upon the bank.

Fallon gives a different version of this *Sakhi* which he translates :—Who in deep waters plunged and sought have found; but foolish me sat by the shore, through fear of being drowned. This form of the saying is attributed to Dharm Dáss.

(36) All say 'Lord, Lord' (*Sáhib*), but my fear is of a different kind; when I know not God by sight, where can I take my seat or how shall I sit down with a God whom I have not known?

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(37) The house of God is distant, as is a tall palm; he who climbs to the top, tastes of heaven; he who falls is ground to pieces.

(38) What you would do to-morrow, do to-day; what you would do to-day do at once; in a moment the deluge (*Parlai*) will come, then what time will there be for doing.

Parlai is used of the destruction with which each of the several ages closes.

(39) When I went in search of evil men, none appeared to view; when I searched my own heart, I felt that none were so evil as myself.

(40) Full knowledge of God is not attained when the heart has not been united with God; devotion is simply that of imitation, the colour is not fast.

(41) A cage with nine doors, in it a bird like air; that it should remain there is the marvel; what wonder if it escape?

(42) In times of trouble men remember God, but not in times of ease; should they remember God in times of ease, would they ever experience trouble?

(43) Live on friendly terms with all, be ready to speak about all; in word agree with all men, but abide in your own abode.

The rhythm of this Sákhi is so fine that I cannot refrain from printing it in Roman character :—

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Sab se hiliye, sab se miliye, sab ke lijiye naun;
Hànji, Hánji, sab se kahiye, basiye apne gáun.

This saying is generally interpreted to mean that men should be tolerant of religious beliefs differing from their own, though in no hurry to surrender traditional beliefs.

It has also been rendered thus:

Associate with all on friendly terms; address every one with respect (give them their full titles); agree with every one in what he says, and you will have a village of your own to live in, *i.e.* Humour the public and you will soon have them in your power.

(44) Upon seeing the mill revolving, Kabír wept; the grain that falls between the stones can never escape entire.

(45) All men speak of the mill, but none make mention of the pin; the grain that abides by the pin, even its hair is not disturbed.

The two stones of the mill are heaven and earth. nearly all who live upon the earth are overcome of evil; the few who escape are those who abide by the pin, *i.e.* those who call upon God.

(46) The Brahmins of this age are objects of ridicule; give not to them alms: they with their families will go to hell, and take with them their employers (*i.e.* those who give them fees or alms.)

(47) The company of the saints will make your burdens light; the company of the evil means quarrelling throughout the eight watches.

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This saying is by Fallon attributed to Tulsi Dass.

(48) That day is blessed which causes you to meet a holy man ; as you embrace him fervently, sin is driven from the body.

A saying similar to this is to be found among the Muhammadan traditions (*Hadís*).

(49) Through association with a Sádhú comes remembrance of God ; that hour is recorded to a man's credit in his account with God ; all the rest is as valueless as air.

(50) The mirror of God is the body of the Sàdhú ; he who wishes to see, let him see the invisible in him (the Sádhú.)

(51) The Sádhú is the river, love is the water ; in that place wash your body ; Kabír says, Be clean, in company with the Sádhús.

As people wash their clothes on the banks of a river, so should they seek purity of heart through associating with Sádhùs.

(52) The tree does not store its fruit for its own use, nor the river its water ; for the benefit of others has the Sádhú adopted human form.

(53) *Yàm* roars like a lion, cries aloud Kabìr ; were not the Gurú merciful, Yàm would tear and rend.

(54) He who has chosen a bodily Gurú and has failed to recognise the true Gurú; time after time he rises and sinks, ensnared in the ocean of existence.

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A bodily gurú is one who is a gurú in outward appearance, one merely qualified to give instruction as to ritual, sacrifice, alms etc., and not to give spiritual counsel.

(55) The Chelá should be willing to give everything to his Gurú; the Gurú should refuse to take anything from his Chelá.

Many gurus frequently visit the houses of their chelás and by noisy demonstrations in which they are assisted by Bairàgís and curses extort offerings from those who at first declined to give.

(56) The true Gurú took the arrow of the Shabda and prepared to shoot; that which he shot with love found its home within the body.

(57) You are the wife of one, but have become the prostitute of many; say with whose corpse will you be burnt? for you are the wife of many.

There is one God whom men should love; what will be the fate of those who love false gods?

(58) The true Gurú is a great money changer, testing the good and the evil; rescuing from the world the good, he takes it under his own protection.

(59) As the snake when it sees the man who has received the *mantra*, lowers its hood; so Kàl, awed by the name written on the *Pàn* leaf, turns his head away.

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The second line contains a reference to the consecration of the Pán leaf by the Head Mahant. See Ch. VI.

(60) The Chakwi remains apart from her mate throughout the night, in the early morning they meet ; the man who remains apart from God meets him neither by day nor night.

(61) He who removes another's head, removes his own ; in God's Durbár the account will have to be settled.

(62) The power that cannot be described, the form that imparts life (the vision of God is life), whoever becomes one with him (as milk with water) ; that man, says Kabír to Dharm Dass, Kál cannot destroy.

Union with the true God who has neither form nor shape leads on to the development of man's true self over which death has no power.

(63) He who reproaches me is my friend; he supplies the soap to wash my dirty linen.

The man who is reproached pays heed to what is said and reforms. A similar saying is attributed to the Sufi saint, Imám Ghizálí, who used the word 'washerman' instead of 'soap.'

(64) Made articles are quickly destroyed and once destroyed are not put right; by an admixture of vinegar milk is curdled and cannot again be turned to milk.

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(65) For man to assume a body is difficult; it cannot be done twice. The ripe fruit that falls to the ground, cannot again be attached to the tree.

Hindus who believe in transmigration explain this as meaning that many ages will elapse before any particular person will again enter the world as a man.

(66) We know not what the quarter of a second may bring and yet we make plans for the morrow; death comes suddenly as the hawk pounces down on the partridge.

(67) The gardener comes to the garden and seeing him the buds cry out, "The full-blown flowers are culled to-day, to-morrow our turn will come."

(68) The earth said to the potter, why do you trample on me? the day will come when I shall trample on you.

The potter tramples on the earth to make it workable and plastic.

(69) All help the strong; no one helps the weak. A breeze gives fresh life to the fire, but extinguishes the candle.

(70) What place has the coward on the wrestling ground? when wrestler meets with wrestler then is a real contest.

(71) Consider him a wrestler, striving to attain the favour of God, who though crushed to pieces, refuses to give up the struggle.

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In the second line reference is made to an instruction often given to a wrestler by his trainer, 'Crush him to pieces.' *(Us ke purze purze dila kar do).*

(72) The days of yore are gone; he loved not God (Harí); of what use is remorse, when the birds have eaten all the crops?

These words are often used of a 'ne'er do well,' when on the point of death.

(73) The wood that has already been burnt (in the process of conversion into charcoal) that too cries out. "If I go to the blacksmith's forge, I shall be burnt a second time."

Sinners die once in this world and a second time in the world to come.

(74) Remain apart from the world, as water refuses to mingle with oil; deposit your heart where is neither death nor the dungeons of *Kál.*

(75) Who saves his head, loses his head; who severs his head, finds a head; as the wick of a candle gives additional light when trimmed.

The head is regarded as the most precious of human possessions; a man will give his head for a friend.

(76) The pearl is found in the oyster, the oyster is in the sea; the diver brings him up; with no one else is the power.

There is probably here a play upon words. The word translated Diver may also mean, One who lives through death, or conquers after a hard struggle.

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(77) Consider the parable of the sieve; it suffers the flour to pass, but retains the husk; so men let pass what is good and swallow what is useless.

Sar=that which passes through the sieve; *Asar*= that which is retained.

(78) Consider the sugar cane press; the juice flows out, the fragments of cane remain.

His heart is wanting in wisdom who retains thoughts of no value and disregards spiritual mysteries.

(79) All Sádhús are in appearance alike, resembling a field of poppies; some few thinkers are as red flowers, the rest are perfectly white.

It is the white poppy that is cultivated in Indian fields for the production of opium.

(80) Holy men will not relinquish holiness, though they associate with crores of unholy men; though snakes may cling to the sandal tree, it will never lose its coolness.

(81) Ask not a Sádhú about his caste, but about his knowledge of God; when you are determining the price of a sword, there is no need to consider the sheath.

The sword is what you want, it matters little of what kind or of what colour the sheath may be.

(82) The methods of a Sàdhú should be those of a winnowing fan; he should lay hold

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of the weighty matters and let subjects of little moment fly away.

(83) Kabìr says ; to associate with a Sádhú is like sitting near a seller of perfumes ; though the seller sell you nought, yet you enjoy the scent of his perfumes.

(84) As an ant is carrying off a grain of rice, it falls in with a grain of *dàl*. Kabír says ; both you cannot carry away, take the one and leave the other.

(85) A madman was beating the hole of a snake, but the snake was not hit ; fool, it is not the snake's hole that bites ; it is the snake that devours men.

(86) Where is the boundary of the heavens? what is the weight of the world ? what is the caste of a Sádhú ? What is the price of the Alchemist's stone ?

(87) The dog of a Sádhú is virtuous, while evil is the mother of one who becomes not the chela of a gurú ; the one sits and hears the praises of Harí ; the other speaks evil of gurús.

(88) Learn to distinguish the honest man and the thief from their manner of speech ; all the works that are within proceed forth by way of the mouth.

Cf St Matt. xii 34. Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.

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(89) In the midst of the highest heaven there is a shining light; he who has no gurú cannot reach the palace; he only will reach it who is under the guidance of a true Gurú.

(90) Feel no care; be free from care; the giver is powerful; the beasts of the field, the birds and the insects have neither wealth nor store house.

(91) The tortoise takes care of its egg; without breasts it supplies its needs; so God provides for all and makes provision for the three *loks* (earth, heaven and hell).

(92) Whatever I did, you did; I did nothing myself; should man say, I did it, it was in your strength that it was done.

Cf. Phil. ii. 13.

Shámś-i-Tabrez, the famous Sufi, is said to have raised a man from the dead. Three times he addressed the corpse, saying, In the name of God, I bid thee rise. These words had no effect. He then said, 'In my name I bid thee rise' and the man rose. The idea is that man's real power lies in the consciousness of his union with God. So long as he addressed God as one apart from himself, his prayer was disregarded.

(93) Everything is from God and nothing from his servant; he can change a mustard seed into a mountain and a mountain into a mustard seed.

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(94) Should all the earth be turned into paper and all the trees into pens; should the seven seas be turned into ink, yet could not an account of God be written.

(95) In blessings, O God, thou surpassest all, in thy dealings with men thou art without a rival; God is chief of all kings, and yet He lived upon earth as a *faqír*.

(96) We shall not die, though all creation die; we have found one that quickeneth.

These lines form part of an introduction to a *Bhajan*.

(97) Whoever forsakes what is false and productive of pride and becomes as dust on the road, he will find God.

(98) The difference between the true and the false Sádhú is as that between the Ám (mango) and the Babúl trees; the former bears life-producing fruit, the latter thorns.

Phal (fruit) is often used of the results of action.

(99) When you see a Sádhú approaching, run, touch with your hands his feet (and apply them to your forehead). It may be that in this form God himself will meet you.

(100) All say 'Rám, Rám,' but there is a difference in the saying; one associated with many, another was absorbed in one.

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The writer seems to be here distinguishing between Rám, the son of Dasráth, and Rám, as used as a title of the one true God.

(101) O Náráyan, there have been countless mighty rulers in this world; they used to speak of I and mine, but when they died they took not away with them a single straw.

(102) If a man be meek, humble, respectful and obedient to Sàdhús, in his heart I dwell, as a fish dwells in the water.

(103) Water stays not at a high level, but descends; he who stoops down can raise up the water and drink; he who remains standing must go away with thirst unquenched.

(104) Only the guru is found, but no disciple (every one presumes to teach, none are willing to learn); there is some hope of success, when a disciple is found.

(105) What is the use of greatness? the palm is a tall tree, but none sit under its shade and its fruit is out of reach.

(106) If you wish to worship Rám, worship him at once; when will you find another opportunity? The grass that now is fresh and green will shortly be dried as fuel.

(107) Thou camest into this world for gain; gamble not away thy life, weigh carefully in thy mind, this moment will not return again.

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Chapter V

The Kabír Panth.

The Kabìr Panthis of Northern and Central India recognise two main divisions of the Panth, one with headquarters at the Kabìr Chaura in Benares and a branch establishment at Maghár, and a second, founded by Dharm Dass, with headquarters in the Chattisgarh District, in the Central Provinces. The former is known as *Bàp* (Father) and the latter as *Mai* (Mother). The relations between these two divisions have at times been strained. The Math at Puri, where, in the worship of Jagannath, distinctions of caste are disregarded, is respected by both as a place of pilgrimage.[1]

It is impossible in the light of present information to determine the date at which either of these divisions first came into existence, but both were probably founded by Hindú disciples of Kabír.

As already stated Kabír died and was buried at Maghár, in the district of Gorakhpur. The

(1) The division of the Panth into twelve branches, as given in Wilson, H. H. seems to be quite fanciful. There are other branches at Bombay, in Gujerat, etc., but it is doubtful whether these regard themselves as independent of these two main divisions. Of these two divisions, that which bears the name of Dharm Dass, though barely mentioned by Wilson, is the more influential at the present time.

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shrine at Maghár which has always been in the charge of Muhammadans was restored in 1567 by Nawab Fidae Khan, the officer in command of the imperial army which occupied the city in that year.[2]

There are at the present time two Maths at Maghár, one for Muhammadans, containing the shrine, and another for Hindus, in the enclosure of which is a hole in which Kabír is said to have sat, awaiting death.[3] Each of these Maths which adjoin one another, has accommodation for 50 Sadhús, though as a rule only one Fakír or Sadhù lives in each.[4] About 50 Hindù Sadhus live in the neighbouring villages of Balwa and Khurswal where the Panth has property in land.[5]

At Maghár there are more Muhammadan than Hindú Kabír Panthis. The two sections have little in common, except their devotion to Kabìr their Master. Each section receives *Prasád* in its own Math.

(2) From 1300 to 1567 A. D. Maghar was the capital of the Samet Rajputs.

(3) It is stated in the *Basti Gazetteer* that a Hindu Mahant first arrived at Maghar in 1764 A. D. According to Kabir Chaura traditions the first four Mahants were buried at Maghar. See Additional Note.

(4) The Hindu Math is under the management of the Kabir Chaura Mahant. The present Mahant, Gur Prasad Dass, is specially interested in the superintendence of agricultural operations. In the absence of the Mahant the Pujari is placed in charge of the Kabir Chaura Math.

(5) This land is chiefly under rice cultivation. In 1900 the land at Balwa supplied the Kabir Chaura Math with 750 maunds of rice and the Maghar Math with 500 maunds.

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In connexion with the Muhammadan Math a largely attended Mela is held on the last day of Aghan (November). In connexion with this Mela a sacred feast is held. The Mahant proceeds to the shrine, followed by the Díwán, carrying in both hands a large dish (*Thambe*) containing *Khichri* (cooked rice mixed with *dál*) and by a *Bandálí* carrying an earthenware vessel (*Karwa*) containing water and covered over with a white cloth. Upon reaching the shrine these vessels are placed upon the ground and frankincense is burnt upon the tomb, in a fire of cowdung.[6] The Mahant repeats certain prayers in which all present take their part.[7]

At the conclusion of the prayers he takes his seat upon the ground while the Díwán gives to each of the worshippers a small portion of the *Khichri* and the Bandàlí pours from the spout of the *Karwa* a few drops of the water into the palm of their hands. When all have received, the Díwán and Bandálì consume what is left. More prayers are said, after which the Mahant departs and the gathering breaks up.[8]

(6) These ashes are passed through fine muslin and preserved in a brass *lotá*.

(7) The Kabir Panthis apply the term prayer to devotional exercises which might be more accurately described as meditations.

(8) It seemed best to describe this feast here and so complete the account relating to Maghar. The religious feasts of the Hindu Kabir Panthis, which are conducted with considerably more ritual, are described in Chapter VI.

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Pilgrims to the shrine are expected to present a rupee to the officer in charge and also an offering of rice and *dál*. They receive in return a small portion of *Khichri* and a pinch of the ashes that result from the burning of the frankincense and cowdung.[9]

The Kabír Chaura Math receives its name from the fact that it occupies the site upon which according to tradition Kabír gave instruction to his disciples. The Math consists of two courtyards, connected by a bridge thrown across a narrow lane. The main courtyard contains the preaching platform, the *Mandar*, which is occupied by a pair of wooden sandals (*Khanráon*) intended to represent the feet of the Gurú,[10] the *Gaddi*,[11] the *Samadhs*(tombs)[12] of five Mahants

(9) The Muhammadan members of the Panth wear caps of a different shape to those worn by the Hindu Bairagis.

(10) Originally there was no Mandar (temple) at Kabir Chaura, but in this respect, as probably in others, the Kabir Panthis have gradually assimilated their own arrangements to those of the Maths of other religious orders. The *Dasnámis* worship the feet of Sankaracharya, carved in outline in stone or marble. It was probably in order to escape the charge of idolatry that the Kabir Panthis substituted for the *Charan Páduká* a pair of wooden sandals.

(11) The *Gaddi* is literally the pillow upon which the Guru sits in state. The *Gaddi* of this Math belongs to Kabir, his representative upon earth sits behind and not upon it.

(12) When practicable the Mahants are buried within the precincts of their Math. It is the custom of this, as of several other religious orders, to bury and not burn the bodies of their dead. The custom which may be due to Muhammadan influences is explained by saying that the bodies of Sants who have died to the world have already been purified and do not require the cleansing of fire.

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and quarters for Sádhùs. The courtyard across the lane which occupies the traditional site of Niru's house is made over to the female Bairágis, known as *Mai Log*.[13] This court contains the Samadhs of three Mahants.

The room in which the Gaddí is placed is immediately opposite the entrance gate. Over the Gaddí hangs the picture of Kabír which has been reproduced as the frontispiece of this volume. In this picture Surat Gopál and Dharm Dáss, the founders of the two main divisions of the Panth, are represented as kneeling before Kabír while Kamàl stands behind with a fan in his hand. On one side of the picture hangs a portrait of Ràmánand and on the other a picture of Rangí Dáss, the late Mahant, who died eight years ago.

Above the pictures are hung what appear from the distance to be armorial bearings, but are in reality designs in coloured cloth, intended to symbolise the five elements (earth, air, fire, water and *ákhás*) and the nine doors or points of entrance into the human body. In front of the Gaddí are placed two flower vases and upon the wall at the side hangs a rosary, composed

(13) The female devotees are given the title of Mother because all Sadhus are required to treat them with the respect due to a mother from her son. When a married man is received into the order of the *Dandis* he applies his lips to the breast of his wife to indicate that henceforth he stands to her in the relation of son to mother.

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of a thousand beads, which is reserved for the use of the Mahant.

Daily service is conducted in the Math, morning and evening, by the *Pujárí*. In the morning the Sádhús, so soon as they have bathed, assemble in front of the Mandar. Here takes place the first part of the service which includes the performance of *Árti*[14] and the washing of the Gurú's feet. After this the various Samadhs and the Gaddí are visited and the Sádhús return to the Mandar for the concluding portion of the service. The morning service is said to occupy thirty minutes and the evening service an hour.

The water in which the wooden sandals have been washed, known as *Charan Mitra*, is poured into a brazen vessel. Three teaspoonfuls of this water together with three *tulsi*[15] leaves, are given to all who visit the Math during the day. At 8 p. m. the doors of the Math are closed and any *Charan Mitra* that remains over is offered in the first place to such Sádhús as have not previously received it. The vessel is then presented to the Mahant who after drink-

(14) In Arti fire, usually the flames of burning camphor, is waved before the object of worship.

(15) The Tulsi leaf is sacred to Vishnu. Many Kabir Panthis feel that in thus showing reference to Vishnu they are disregarding the teaching of Kabir, as by Rám he meant not the incarnation of Vishnu, but the supreme Deity.

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ing what remains rinses out the vessel with fresh water and consumes that also.

An annual Melá which lasts over four or five days is held at this Math in the month of January. On this occasion the large courtyard is crowded with devotees. Those who wish to become Bairágis observe a fast for twelve days, eating in the evening a little *gur* (crude sugar) and rice cooked in milk. These candidates are admitted as Bairágis at the celebration of the Jot Pershád, which, from a religious point of view, constitutes the principal purpose of the Melá.[16] Of the possessions belonging to the Math the Kabír Panthis regard the *ṭopí* (cap) and *schlí* woollen necklace of Kabír, the *Khanràoṇ*, the picture of Kabír and the Bijak as those of greatest value.

The principal officers of the Math are the *Mahant*, the *Dìwán*, the *Kotwál* and the *Pujári*. The *Mahant* is responsible for the general arrangements and should be a man of learning, qualified to give religious instruction; the *Dìwàn* is the business manager; the *Kotwál* is responsible for the maintenance of discipline, while the

(16) It is said that the *Jot Pershad* was originally celebrated in this Math once a month, but that this custom was discontinued on account of a quarrel that arose between Puran Dáss and the contemporary Mahant of the Dharm Dáss section, in consequence of which the latter refused to supply Puran Dass with something which was regarded as essential for the proper conduct of this service. For an account of the Jot Pershad see Chapter vi.

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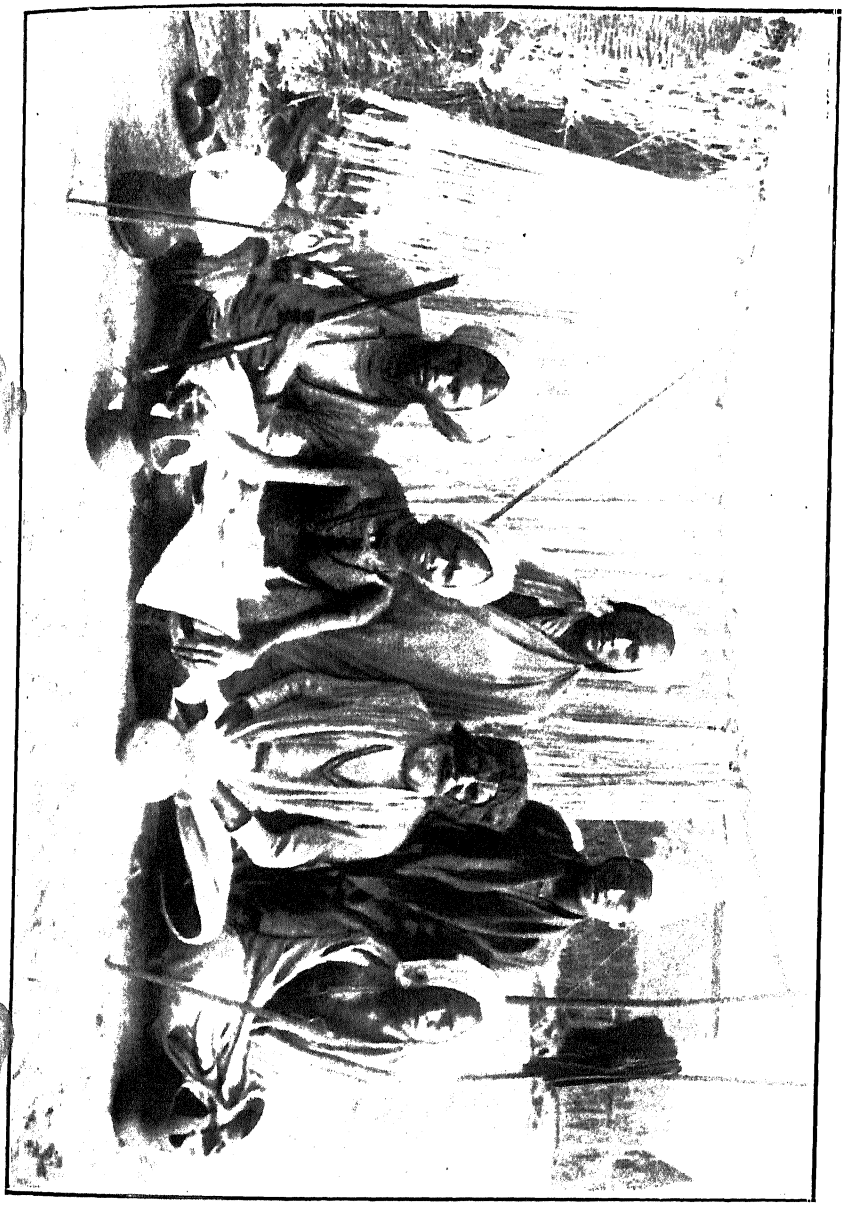

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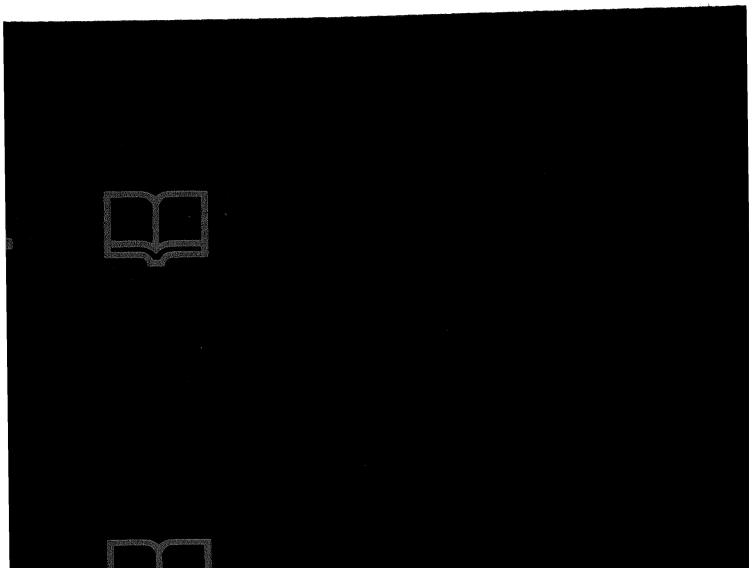
tion were originally at Bandogarh in the neighbourhood of Jubbulpore ; from this place they were transferred to Koodarmál and once again in recent years to Dháma Kherá.

Dharm Dáss, the founder of this section, is said to have first met Kabír at Benares and to have been rebuked by him for worshipping idols. He met him subsequently at Brindában, but failing to recognise him said, " Your words resemble those addressed to me by a Sádhú whom I once met at Benares. " On this occasion Kabír adopted stronger measures and threw into the river the idol which Dharm Dáss was worshipping. Once more Kabír appeared to him in his house at Bàndogarh. Dharm Dāss was a *bunniáh* by caste and possessed of considerable wealth. Kabír again rebuked him for practising idolatry and asked him how he could worship an idol made out of the same stone as the weights which he made use of in his business. On this occasion Dharm Dáss acknowledged the force of his arguments and both he and his wife became his disciples. According to the account given in *Sùkrit Dhyán* Dharm Dàss was the son of one Mahesh, and was as an infant saved from death by Gyánì



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(*i. e.* Kabír) who entered into his body. He was originally called Judáwan, but objected to this name and received from Kabír permission to change it to Dharm Dáss. Naráyan Dáss, his son, refused to accept Kabír as his Gurú, but through the grace of Kabír a second son was born in 1516 and named Churáman.[17] This son was installed upon the Gaddí by Kabír himself. Upon the occasion of his installation Kabír foretold that his descendants should sit upon the Gaddí for 42 generations (*Bans*), and declared that the right to communicate the *Mantra* would be confined to his descendants. In accordance with Kabír's instructions the Head Mahant of this section marries and lives with his wife till a son is born. After the birth of the son the wife becomes a *Bairàgi*. The Mahant holds office for a period of 25 years and 20 days and is then succeeded by his son.[18] In one case the son is said to have died and as the mother had become a *Bairàgi* the Mahant

(17.) This date has apparently been chosen to bring the birth of Churamán within the lifetime of Kabír. No mention is made of the age at which Churaman was installed as Mahant. No importance can be attached to dates mentioned in connexion with the establishment of the Panth. Ugranám is said to be the 13th Mahant. If eleven Mahants occupied the Gaddí for twenty years each and one Mahant for three, the Panth would appear to have been founded 278 years previous to the installation of Ugranam, *i. e.* about 1625.

(18.) The Mahant's son alone is a member of the Panth by birth and is initiated by his father. All other members become the children of the Mahant through the reception of the *Mantra*.

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lived with another woman by whom he had a son.[19] The father of the present Mahant died after holding office for a period of three years only, and many wished that one of his disciples, Jugla Nand, should officiate as Mahant during the remainder of his term of office. To this proposal the majority of the members strongly objected on the ground that he was not a descendant of Dharm Dáss, and Ugranám was duly installed. His grandmother, known as Dádí Sáhib, who was responsible for this proposal, still exercises authority at Koodarmal, and Ugranám reigns in the newly established Math at Dháma Kherá. Jugla Nand with other discontented Sádhús retired to Bombay, where he has published various books bearing upon the Panth. Kabír is said to have given instructions to Dharm Dáss regarding the *Chauká* and the *Jot Prasád*.

The Kabìr Panth exists as a protest against the religious exclusiveness of the twice-born castes. As a natural result few but Sudras whose cause it champions have associated themselves with the movement. The Panth contends for a truth which forms part of the Gospel of Creation, viz. that all men have spiritual powers

(19) The boy who died is said to have been Churáman who returned to the world, but retired after a short stay as he was unwilling a second time to sit upon the *Gaddi*.

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which should find their natural expression in communion with God, now in this life.[20]

The sons of the twice-born as they come to years of discretion are invested with the sacred thread (*Janeo*) and reminded thereby of their spiritual privileges and responsibilities. The members of this Panth wear round their necks a *Kanthi* (rosary) formed of beads made of Tulsi wood.[21] This *Kanthi* is naturally associated with thoughts of prayer and in this way reminds those who wear it alike of their relation to God and of the promises which they made at the time of their initiation.[22] Permission to

(20) The exclusive spirit which finds expression in caste and against which Kabir and others fought, has by no means been expelled from the minds of *Kabir Panthis*. Members of the lowest castes, such as Mehtars, Doms and Dhobis, should, they consider, join sects such as that of *Shiva Narayan* and not be permitted to wear *kanthis*.

(21) The *kanthi* of the *Kabir Panthis* is formed of beads made of Tulsi wood, which are usually strung on string of very inferior quality. This defect may result in the loss of the beads, and no member of the Panth is under such circumstance allowed to worship or eat food till the beads have been replaced. They are, however, allowed to wear instead of the *kanthi* one large bead (*hira*) strung on substantial thread. Those who live in places where a lost *kanthi* cannot be easily replaced usually avail themselves of this alternative. Some *kanthis* are made of material other than wood, *e.g.* grass or cocoanut fibre. Some *Satnamis* wear a wristlet made of string in lieu of a *kanthi*.

(22) Prayer as offered by the *Kabir Panthis* is of an elementary character. One says that they pray that they may obtain salvation (*mukhti*); another says that he sings the praises of Narayan in the morning and in the evening prays for protection against evil spirits. The latter spoke of our Church Services as "practice", and regarded them as valuable in as much as they helped to form a habit of punctuality. It would be a great mistake to suppose that prayer means for a *Kabir Panthi* the same as it does for a Christian.

At the time of prayer members of the Panth make on their forehead the mark (*Tilak*) of Vishnu, using for the purpose a special kind of earth mixed with water or with water only.

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wear a *Kanthi* is granted to women as well as to men, for they too are spiritual beings; but no woman may assume a *Kanthi* previous to marriage nor may she become the disciple of her husband's Guru.[23]

To Brahmins at the time of investiture with the sacred thread is communicated the Brahminical *Mantra* which they are not allowed on any account to communicate to those who are not Brahmins.[24] In like manner at the time of initiation a *Mantra* is whispered into the ear of Kabìr Panthis. This Mantra serves as a bond of union between members of the Panth and also suggests a position of privilege.[25]

Brahmins wear upon their forehead the sign of the God whom they worship. Kabír Panthis

(23) If disciples of the same Guru they would be regarded as brother and sister and so their marriage would become unlawful. This, however, appears to be a later refinement as Dharm Dass and his wife were both the disciples of Kabir. They would probably argue that this was a matter of necessity, as at that time there was only one Guru whereas in modern days there are many.

(24) The spiritual life of Brahmins, Kshattriyas and Vaishyas is recognised from the time when they receive the *mantra* from their Guru and are invested with the sacred thread. From that time they are subject to the rules of caste, Only those who have reached years of discretion are admitted as members of the *Panth* with the possible exception of children, both of whose parents are already members.

(25) The Initiatory Mantra of the Kabir Panth is said to contain five words which represent one name or revelation of the one true God. Should the *chela* at the time of initiation fail to catch the words on account of nervousness or the noise of music, he may have it repeated to him by some other member of the Panth, provided that this is done in a solitary place where there is no chance of the words being overheard by others.

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also wear such a mark (*Tika*), as shown in the frontispiece.

In the days of Kabìr a knowledge of religious truth was practically confined to those who were acquainted with one or other of the two sacred languages, Arabic and Sanskrit. These two languages were employed both in public and private worship with the result that the worship of the masses was too often a mere repetition of phrases which were unintelligible to those who used them. Kabír urged that religious books should also be written in the vernacular that all might obtain that knowledge of God which was essential to spiritual progress.

Again to the illiterate masses teaching contained in books was inaccessible, and so it is that we find Kabír laying great stress on the importance of oral teaching. Few men are qualified to become scholars, but all are required to be good; therefore he urged his disciples to associate with good men and through conversation with them to acquire such knowledge as is necessary. The study of books, he thought, was too often productive of pride; to display learning and intelligence scholars were often tempted to enlarge upon topics of little spiritual value, while in private conversation heart speaks to heart of its own spiritual needs. Such were the views of Kabìr and in consequence the Gurù in

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this Panth occupies a position of extraordinary importance.

Kabír was a poet of no mean order and gladly consecrated his literary gifts to the service of God. He knew that religious instruction given in the form of poetry was easily remembered; he knew too that the singing of *Bhajans* (Hymns) was an occupation in which the people of India took peculiar pleasure. It only remained for him to compose hymns which his followers could sing. This he did, and up to the present day his hymns enjoy great popularity with the people and in the Panth occupy a prominent position in all acts of public worship.

As the Brahmins are required to repeat the Gyatri daily, so are members of this Panth required to use the following hymns, in the morning and evening respectively :—

Morning Hymn:—Kabìr said—Spiritual and material blessings attend those who wait upon the Darwesh ; their account is safe. Love of you pervades the whole body of your devotees. You are starvation, unmoved by desire, a mendicant. You walk in no one's footsteps, you seek ease in no abode. The whose universe is your body. You are boundless (a stream without banks). You pervade the Universe constantly. The love which you cause is profound. The empty Universe is in me, says the Gurú

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(Kabir). If we do honour by fire to the true name, the body becomes pure. Dharam Dàss taking the Gurú's arm walked and found Kabír.

Evening Hymn.—Evening having come on, the day having closed, the duck broke into wailing : "O drake, let us go to that country where Day and Night are unknown." If separation takes place at night, the duck is to be met with in the morning, but he who is separated from the name (of God) regains it neither during day nor night. Hear, O Gurù, Treasury of kindness, I beseech you with clasped hands. Mercy, humility, devotion, equality, good nature, constancy, these are the ornaments of a devotee. Devotion to the one without beginning is adornment. The only name, the only Gurú, is Kabìr, the highest *Pír*.[26]

Anxious as Kabir was to claim for all men spiritual privileges he was no less anxious to impress upon those who desired to become religious that they must live in a way consistent with their profession.

All, therefore, who desire to become members of the *Panth* are required to renounce polytheism and to acknowledge their belief in one only God (*Parameshwar*). They must also pro-

(26) For these *bhajans* in their original form see Crooke's *Tribes and Castes of N.-W. P. and Oudh*, Vol. III pp. 75-6. For the translation in the text I am indebted to a resident of Cawnpore who locally enjoys a reputation as a Hindi poet.

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mise to eat no meat and drink no wine; to bathe daily and sing hymns to God, both morning and evening; to forgive those who trespass against them up to three times; to avoid the company of all women of bad character and all unseemly jesting in connexion with such subjects; never to turn away from their house their lawful wife; never to tell lies; never to conceal the property of another man; never to bear false witness against a neighbour or speak evil of another on hearsay evidence.[27]

One prominent trait in Hindu character, viz. personal devotion, finds ample scope for exercise in the devotion to their Gurú required of all members of the Panth. All who wish to approach God must, they say, become the disciple of some Gurú and to this Gurú when once chosen, the disciple must wholly submit himself, mind, soul and body. To Kabir, as the chief Gurú, many of the *bhajans* used in public worship are addressed, and marked reverence is also shown to the living Gurú, as God's representative upon earth.

(27) In requiring such promises from his followers Kabir doubtless indicates those defects in Hindu social life which to him appeared most detrimental to the development of religion. To the promise to eat no meat the greatest importance is attached in all the Vaishnavite sects, as such a habit is supposed to develop the material and injure the spiritual part of human nature. This belief with reference to eating flesh makes them slow to realise that Christianity, which regards such questions as matters of indifference, can be really a spiritual force.

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ADDITIONAL NOTE.

List of the Kabír Chaurá Mahants.

Name of Mahant.	Samádh at.	Years of office.	Approximate date of Installation.
Shyám Dáss	Maghar	28	1491 ?
Lál Dáss	Maghar	22	1519 ?
Hari Dáss	Maghar	18	1541 ?
Surat Gopál Dáss	Jagannáth	35	1559
Gyán Dáss	Jagannáth	25	1594
Sital Dáss	Gayá	24	1619
Sukh Dáss	Nirú Tila	20	1643
Huláss Dáss	Nirú Tila	26	1663
Mádho Dáss	Nirú Tila	20	1689
Kokil Dáss	Nirú Tila	21	1709
Rám Dáss	Nirú Tila	29	1730
Mahá Dáss	Nirú Tila	22	1759
Hari Dáss	Nirú Tila	20	1781
Sukh Dáss	Kabír Chaurá	27	1801
Saran Dáss	Kabír Chaurá	16	1828
Puran Dáss	Kabir Chaurá	18	1844
Nirmal Dáss	Kabír Chaurá	22	1862
Ranghir Dáss	Kabír Chaurá	15	1884
Gur Prasád Dáss		8	1899

The above list so far as the name of Mahant, place of Samádh and tenure of office are concerned was supplied by a Bairagi at Benares.

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The existence of the first three Mahants is highly problematical.

Surat Gopal (A D 1559) is generally regarded as the founder of the Panth. It is possible that he and the two Mahants who succeded him did not have their headquarters at Benares, but that the Niru Tila compound was acquired during the Mahanti of Sukh Dáss. Bulwant Singh, and his son and succes sor, Cheit Singh, were patrons of the Kabír Panth The former died in A. D. 1770. The Kabìr Chaura Compound may have been acquired in their time.

Though seven Mahants are said to have been buried in the Nirú Tila court of the Math at Benares only three Samádhs are conspicuous at the present time. (see p. 102.)

List of Dharam Dàss Mahants.

Name.			Approximate date of Installation
Chúrámaní	Nám	...	1694
Súdarshan	Nám	...	1714
Kulpati	Nám	...	1734
Pramodh	Nám	Gurú Bálá Pìr	1754
Kewal	Nám	...	1774
Amol	Nám	...	1794
Surat Sanehí	Nám	...	1814
Haqq	Nám	...	1834
Pák	Nám	...	1854
Praghat	Nám	...	1874
Dhíraj	Nám	...	1894
Ugra	Nám	...	1897
Dayá	Nám		

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The above have already appeared. Those to follow are:—

Gridhmaní Nám	Akah Nám
Prakàsh Nám	Kanthmani Nám
Uditmaní Nám	Santokh Nám
Mukundmaní Nám	Chátrik Nám
Adh Nám	Dadhí Nám
Udai Nàm	Neh Nàm
Gyàn Nàm	Adí Nàm
Hansmani Nàm	Mahá Nàm
Sukrit Nàm	Nij Nàm
Agrmaní Nàm	Sáhib Dáss Nàm
Ras Nàm	Udhawa Dáss Nàm
Gungmani Nàm	Karunra Nàm
Páras Nàm	Uddhar Nàm
Jágrat Nàm	Drigh Nàm
Bhringhmani Nàm	Mahámaní Nàm

The dates have been calculated on the assumption that each Mahant held office for 20 years and 25 days, except Dhìraj Nám who is known to have died after three years tenure of office. One Mahant stated that the regular tenure of office was for 25 years and 20 days. On such a calculation the date of Churámanì would be thrown back to A. D. 1654. In the Kabìr Chaurá section the average tenure of office has been for 23 years.

The *Sukh Nidàn* is said to have been written during Pramodh Nam's tenure of office.

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Chapter VI.

The Kabír Panth (*Contd.*)

This Panth, like other religious institutions of the kind, is founded on a double basis. Members may live as householders in their own homes, or renounce the world and attach themselves permanently to one of the Monasteries belonging to the order. Those belonging to the latter class are known as Bairágis. A married man may leave his wife, whom he is henceforth to regard as his mother, and become a Bairágí, provided that he is the father of at least one son. Women, as well as men, may become Bairágis, if found properly qualified after a probationary period of two years.[1] Conventual buildings exist both at Kabír Chaura and Maghár. The householders perform an important function in the economy of the order, inasmuch as they contribute largely to the support of the Bairágis.

There are a large number of branch establishments, each of which is presided over by a Mahant who spends most of his time in travelling round to visit the disciples who acknowledge

(1) Female Bairagis are usually widows or the wives of men who have become Bairagis. At Maghar there are said to be about 25 female Bairagis.

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him as their *Gurú*.[2] He is supposed to visit his *Chelas* at least once a year, to note the progress they have made, to give instruction to them and to their families, and to examine and to receive into the order, if found qualified, such candidates as may be brought to him. On such occasions he is entertained by members of the Panth and also provided with travelling expenses.

The Mahants of the branch establishments receive authority to teach and initiate new members from the Head Mahant of the section to which they belong. At the time of appointment they are given to eat a betel leaf (*Bira*)[3] as a pledge that they undertake faithfully to perform the duties of their office.[4] Each Mahant receives a document, bearing the seal of the Head Mahant, and known as the *Panja Parwána*. Upon this document are entered the names of all disciples admitted by him into the order. The Mahant is required to check this list at each place that he visits and to present it

(2) The Mahants are not allowed to shave; the Bairagis must either shave entirely or not at all.

(3) In ancient days a *pan* leaf (*Bira*) was thrown down as a challenge. This custom is referred to in the *Rámáyána*.

(4) One of the Mahants at Lucknow assumed office when 14 years of age. Normally when a minor is nominated for succession an unbeneficed Mahant is associated with him in office, till he is able to perform the duties unassisted.

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annually to the Head Mahant both for inspection and the entry of new names.[5]

As signs of authority the Mahant receives a red *topi*, a necklace of black wool, known as *Selì*,[6] and a special rosary known as the *Pànch Màl.*

On the occasion of his annual visit to Headquarters the Mahant is required to present twelve cocoanuts and twelve rupees on his own account and one cocoanut and one rupee for each new name that he wishes to have entered on his Parwana. He also makes over to the Díwán all offerings made at the Chauka Arti services at which he has officiated during the year.

A Mahant upon appointment is required to make an offering of cocoanuts. Kabìr Panthis explain the peculiar significance attached to cocoanuts in the Panth in the light of the following facts :—(1) it has a face resembling that of a man, (2) its surface is divided into three parts recalling Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu, (3) its

(5) On the occasion of a visit to any place the Mahant recites at celebration of the *Chauka Arti* all the names entered either upon his own *Parwana* or those of his predecessors in office, and writes the words '*Chalana kar gaya*' against the names of any who have died. In the case of a deceased Mahant the phrase used is '*Samadhi le lì*'.

(6) The *Seli* is very similar to that worn by certain followers of Nanak. In each case there are five tassels attached to the *Seli*. In the Kabir Panth *Seli* there are three tassels placed together in the centre with one on either side; in the Nanak *Seli* the five tassels are placed at regular intervals. For shape of *Topi* see frontispiece.

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flesh is formed gradually as human flesh is formed and (4) it differs from other fruits in containing no seed.[7] The breaking of the cocoanut is regarded as a bloodless sacrifice, a peace offering presented to Niranjan to secure for members of the Panth admission into heaven.

The ordinary Mahants are not men of great learning, though they have usually committed to memory a certain number of sayings attributed to Kabír and possibly also some book of which they have managed to secure a copy. Want of learning is in some sort atoned for in the opinion of their followers by a detailed knowledge of the ritual to be observed in the performance of religious ceremonies. The more learned Mahants have generally some knowledge of Tulsì Dáss's *Rámáyana* and *The Bhàgawad Gìta.*

Before giving an account of the ceremony of initiation and the two sacramental meals, the *Chauká Artí* and the *Jót Prasàd*, it seems best to explain two terms which are especially associated with the initiation ceremony and the *Jót Prasàd.* The two terms in question are *Charan Mitra* and *Parwàna.*

Charan Mitra, the *amrita* of the feet, is the name given to the water in which have

(7) Do they wish to imply that the cocoanut represents God made man, the word become flesh?

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been washed the feet of the Head Mahant, Kabir's representative upon earth. This water is mixed with fine earth and then made up into pills. These pills may either be swallowed whole, or pounded up, mixed with water and drunk.

Parwána (Passport) is the name given to the betel leaf specially prepared at head quarters at the time of a celebration of the *Jót Prasád*. A pile of betel leaves, sixteen handbreadths in height is arranged upon the ground. At night time a pewter saucer is placed upon a specially prepared spot and the dew collected in this vessel is known as *amar*, water derived from heaven direct. In the morning the Mahant meditates in front of the pile of betel leaves and with the *amar* writes upon the topmost leaves the secret name of God. The betel leaves thus consecrated are made up into small portions, about a quarter of an inch square, and distributed among the Mahants for use at a celebration of the *Jót Prasád* or for presentation to a candidate at the time of his initiation. The *Parwána* is said to represent the body of Kabir.

The ceremony of initiation is one of considerable solemnity. The candidate in the presence of the Gurú and other members of the *Panth* makes the required promises and is solemnly warned as to the consequences for

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good or evil that will depend upon the way in which he afterwards observes them.[8] While *bhajans* are being sung by those present half of the mantra is whispered into the left ear of the candidate by the Gurú, who afterwards places in his two outstretched hands, placed together, some grass, *pán* leaves and white flowers. A Bairági, taking a brass vessel containing water in one hand, with the other leads the candidate to another quarter of the room where he allows the grass, etc. to fall upon the ground. Having moved a short way from that spot the candidate again places his hands together and into them the Bairagi pours water from the vessel. With the first handful of water he rinses out his mouth; with the second he washes his face. After this the candidate is led back to the Gurú. The Gurú takes up a *Kanthi* and makes it over to a Bairági who takes it round the assembly and presents it to all members of the Panth in turn. All touch it with their hands and it is then returned by the Bairági to the Mahant.[9] The Mahant placing

(8) Most members fear to violate promises made in so solemn a manner, lest the wrath of God should fall upon them. It is said that one, a seller of oil, drank some wine and eat some flesh. He was expelled from the Panth and immediately fell ill. After six months he recovered and was readmitted into the Panth, but after an interval of a year he repeated his offence and died in consequence. Another member who committed a similar offence is said to have lost the use of a hand.

(9) This process is known as *Gawàhì* (Witness).

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the *Kanthi* in his open hands does obeisance to the Gaddi and then stretching it between the thumb and first finger of both hands lets it fall over the head on to the neck of the candidate, as he kneels before him.[10] At the conclusion of this ceremony he whispers the whole *mantra* into the right ear of the candidate.[11] So soon as the *mantra* has been communicated the new disciple is warned that he must on no account eat the fruit of the fig tree (*gúlar*). In reply to inquiries as to the reason for this prohibition, he is told that the fruit contains many flies and cannot therefore be eaten without much destruction of life. From amongst the articles of food that have been placed beneath a clean cloth the Gurú then takes a cocoanut and places it in the two hands of the candidate who touches with the fruit his right shoulder, his breast and forehead and returns it to the Gurú with a fee

(10) None but a Mahant may invest anyone with the Kanthi of the order. A Cawnpore Mahant once fell into the hands of the police who at once destroyed his kanthi. As soon as the Mahant recovered his freedom he invested himself with a second kanthi. This irregularity was at once reported to the Head Mahant and the offender and another member of the Panth who was supposed to have connived at his offence, were immediately excommunicated.

(11) In the Kabir Chaura section only one mantra is communicated to the candidate, viz. the Guru Mantra. In the Dharam Dass section two mantras are communicated at the time of initiation, the Gurú Mantra and the Tinká Arpan mantra, and three more subsequently in response to inquiry, viz. the Pánch Nám, the Sat Nám and the Har Nám. The Gurú Mantra in use in the two sections is said to be different in form. In the Kabir Chaura section any reference to Dharam Dáss is avoided as far as possible.

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of one rupee. The Gurú, having washed the cocoanut with betel leaves dipped in water, breaks it upon a stone. He proceeds with a knife to cut up the flesh of the cocoanut into small portions and deposits them in an open dish. He next pours into the hands of the candidate some *Charan Mitra* which he reverently drinks. The Mahant then takes a *pán* leaf and placing upon it a *parwána*, a portion of cocoanut, some *batása*, *gúr*,[12] raisins and currants, deposits it in the outstretched hands of the candidate who transfers it to his mouth. After the candidate has in this way been received into the Panth all members present receive at the hands of the Guru a betel leaf upon which is placed a portion of the cocoanut, some *batása*, *gúr*, raisins and currants. No portion of the cocoanut may be destroyed or eaten by those who are not members of the *Panth*.[13] Any portion that remains over is carefully preserved by the Gurú and given to *Panthis* in other places that he may visit, with a statement as to the name and residence of the new disciple at whose initiation it was offered. This ceremony is followed by a feast, in which

(12) Batása is a small sugary wafer in common use at religious gatherings; *Gúr* is a preparation of sugar.

(13) A corresponding ceremony exists among other sects but different fruits are used, e. g. the followers of Tulsi Dáss partake of a plantain. One plantain only is used for this purpose. If many members are present, it is mixed with other food till the quantity is sufficient. The *Ramanandis* eat the leaf of the Tulsi plant.

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members of other religious sects are also permitted to take part. Reverence is paid to the Gurú and Parameshwar and many *bhajans* are sung in honour of Parameshwar and Kabír.

This ceremony which in a measure corresponds to Christian Baptism is known as *Tinkà Arpan.* In the Dharm Dáss section the candidate presents one cocoanut only and one money offering which must not be less than one rupee. In the Kabír Chaura section candidates are required to present no less then sixteen cocoanuts, since they say sixteen sons (*Sút*) were begotten of the Word, and with each cocoanut an offering of money which must not be less then four annas.[14] There is another important difference in the practice of the two sections. In the Dharm Dàss section this ceremony *Tinkà Arpan,* may never be repeated, whereas in the Kabír Chaura section it is performed twice, once by the candidate's personal Gurú and again by the Head Mahant in the Kabír Chaura *Math.* This difference may in part be accounted for by the fact that the Mahants of the Kabír Chaura section are not supplied with a *parwàna* and also by the fact that in this section any Bairágí is authorised to initiate new members.

(14) Of the sixteen cocoanuts four are broken at the *Tinka Arpan* ceremony, six are sent to Maghár, and three are broken at each of the two Chauka Arti ceremonies in the months of Phágun and Bhádon.

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Every member of the *Panth* is required to supply the material wants of his Gurú to the best of his ability, and also to pray on his behalf. As on account of such material help the Gurú is benefited by an increase in the member of his chelas, he is not himself allowed to invite others to become members of the *Panth*.

As regards discipline, any disciple who brings discredit on the Panth by irregularity of life or who in other ways offends against the traditions of the order is in the first place censured by his Gurú and subsequently, should he refuse to listen to advice, excluded from all religious gatherings. His company is avoided by other members of the Panth and his salutations disregarded by the Gurú.

The ordinary members of the *Panth* believe that the souls of *Panthis* after death enter Heaven (*Baikanth*) or Hell (*Narak*) and there remain till they have been sufficiently rewarded or punished for deeds done in the body. They then return to earth, but always apparently clothed in a human body. This succession of lives continues till the soul freed from desire becomes absorbed in God. A member of the *Panth* quoted to me the following saying attributed to Nának :— "We want neither *Baikanth* nor *Narak*, but true life (*púrí zindagí*),

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and that is obtained when there are no more links with this earth."[15]

Members of the *Kabir Panth* are encouraged to observe every Sunday as well as the last day of the lunar month (*Puran Màsi*) as a day of fasting, and having bathed to assemble at 8 o'clock in the evening to join in a service, known as *Chauka*,[16] which takes the form of a religious meal.[17] A piece of ground measuring either 5 or 7 yards square is specially prepared and cleaned. In the centre of this square is measured out a smaller space, 2½ yards square. This inner square is covered over with flour, and in its centre are placed some flowers[18] imme-

(15) We may possibly in this belief see traces of Muhammadan or Christian teaching.

(16) *Chauka* is the term applied to the portion of ground specially prepared for the consumption of food. The ground is divided up into squares, each one of which is occupied by one person.

(17) All who attend the Chauka observe a fast throughout the preceding day, but are allowed to drink water or water sweetened with sugar, if they find their thirst oppressive. The majority of those who belong to the Panth are content to perform their devotions at home on Sundays and in this case only keep the fast up to midday. The *full* Chauka service, followed by a meal as described below is only performed of necessity on two occasions in the year, in the months of *Phágun* and *Bhàdon*, which roughly correspond to March and August. On these occasions the Mahant himself is necessarily present and all members are required to attend. Observance of the whole day fast is a necessary condition of attendance at a Chauka whether the Mahant is present or not.

(18) This specially prepared ground is covered over with an awning (*Chandwá*). The colour of the awning, as well as that of the flowers, is white on festal occasions; red when the service is held in memory of the dead. In addition to the flowers that lie upon the *chaukà* a bunch of flowers is suspen-

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diately in front of the service book (*Puno Granth*). The Mahant sits in the enclosure, facing the congregation, with the service book before him. On his right hand within the smaller square are placed (i) a small metal box containing *Charan Mitra* and *Parwána*, (ii) a dish containing 125 betel leaves[19] arranged around the edge with a single leaf in the centre on which is placed a piece of camphor, and (iii) a pillar composed of dough, constructed with a hollow top, in the centre of which is placed a stick enveloped in cotton wool. During the service *ghi* is poured over this stick which is then lighted and serves as a candle throughout the ceremony. On the left hand of the Mahant are placed (i) a dish containing *batása* and *gúr*, (ii) a cocoanut and (iii) a brazen vessel (*Khalsa*) containing water.

At each corner of the inner portion of the *Chauka* is placed a small earthenware jar con-

ded from the centre of the awning.

The Chauka is arranged by the Mahant. When he is not present the central portion is not overlaid with flour; there is no box containing *Charan Mitra* and *Parwána*; in the place of the dough-made candle-stick is placed a dish on which camphor is burnt, the water is placed in an ordinary *lota* and not in a *khalsa*; for the whole cocoanut are substituted fragments of cocoanut bought in the bazar.

The flour in the centre of the inner portion of the Chauka is fashioned to represnt nine lotus flowers arranged in a circle. Upon these, which represent the sun, moon and seven planets rest the natural flowers.

(19) To eat a betel leaf on such occasions is equivalent to taking a vow to loyally observe the rules laid down. The Mahant removes to his own lodgings any betel leaves that may be over from the Chauka service, but may only eat them himself or give them to another member of the Panth.

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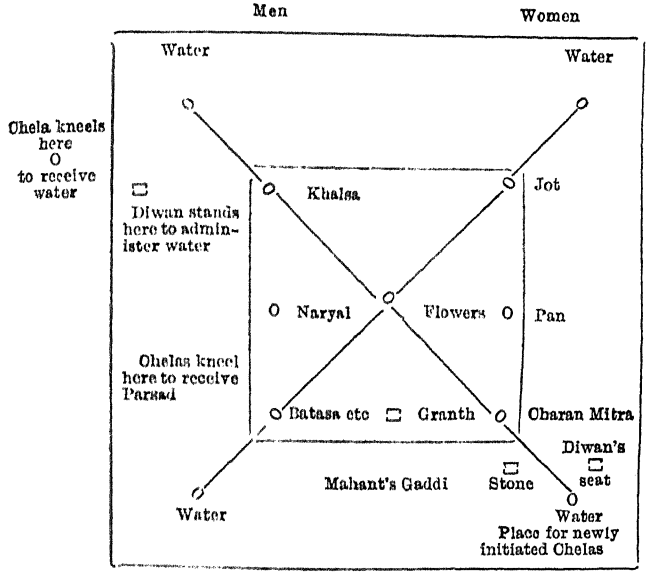
taining water; on this jar rests an earthenware plate containing grain, and over this is placed a lamp (*chirágh*) fed with linseed oil.[20]



The Mahant, at the conclusion of the service, which he reads out of the book, lights the candle which stands in the centre of the candle-stick made of dough. He next lights a piece of camphor on a stone that is set beside him

(20) The grain in the plate is to absorb any oil that may fall from the lamp and so preserve the purity of the water. There is a similar arrangement in the case of the Khalsa. The water in the earthenware vessels is used should the supply of water in the Khalsa (a large round brazen vessel) prove insufficient.

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and taking the cocoanut pours water over it and then breaks it upon the stone [21], and finally lights the piece of camphor in the centre of the *pán* dish and while the camphor is burning waves it backwards and forwards (*Arti.*) The dish is then passed round and those present place in it a small offering. These offerings are taken by the Mahant for the use of his *Math.* He then takes half of the flesh of the cocoanut and with a penknife cuts it up into small portions which he places on a pewter plate. All present approach the Mahant in turn [22] and receive into the palm of their right hand a betel leaf, a fragment of cocoanut, a little *gûr* and some *batása.* This they eat as they kneel before him on one knee, exercising the greatest care lest any portion should fall upon the ground. Each man as he retires has water poured upon his hands for cleansing purposes.

When all have received, the Mahant says some prayers privately, then some more aloud, and closes the service with a short address in which he urges all to lead good lives. After

(21) The shell of the cocoanut represents Shaitan *(Kàl)* who wishes to keep from men the blessing contained in the milk and milk-formed flesh of the fruit.

(22) On great occasions there may be as many as 200 present, men and women. The men sit on one side and the women on the other facing the Mahant, but come up in any order to receive the *Prasàd.* It is said that about a fourth of those present at the Chauka service receive the *Jot Prasàd.*

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the address the *Gurú* does reverence to the *Chauka,* after which all present do reverence to him. This part of the service which is interspersed with the singing of many *bhajans* usually concludes at about 3 a. m.

After an interval of an hour or so this service is followed by one of a more solemn character known as *Jot Prasàd.* [23] The Mahant's servant takes the dough out of which the candle-stand was formed and mixing with it additional flour, *ghí* and fragments of cocoanut, with the help of others kneeds it up again and makes it over to the Mahant. Out of this dough the Mahant makes a number of small wafers, (*puri*), measuring about two inches in diameter. When these have been prepared he calls aloud that *Jot Prasàd* is ready, and all return to their places. The Mahant reads a short address, after which an interval is left for private prayer or meditation. All who feel themselves unworthy to proceed further with the service then retire to a distance. Those who remain approach in turn the Gurú and placing their hands together receive into the palm of the right hand which is uppermost a small pill of *Charan Mitrá* and a portion of *Parwána*, and this disposed of receive into the same hand one of the wafers. They then draw near to the Díwàn, who from

(23.) *Jot*, the flame of a candle ; *Prasàd*, consecrated food,

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a brazen vessel pours into the palm of their right hand a few drops of water which they drink. After this they retire to a distance and an attendant pours water over both their hands to cleanse them from contact with their lips. This food is regarded as Kabir's special gift and it is said that all who receive it worthily will obtain eternal life.

This service is followed by a substantial meal, which is paid for by subscription, should no wealthy member of the Panth have come forward to defray the cost. [24]

After listening to this account of the service I inquired of the Mahant as to the fate of those who abstained from receiving the gifts of Kabír. He replied that all men on their death-bed could receive from their Mahant *Prasád, Charan Mitra* and *Parwána* and that in cases where the Mahant lived at a distance it was usual to place a certain amount of *Charan Mitrá* and *Parwána* with one or more of his

(24.) When a Mahant is not present these services are considerably curtailed, as the officiating chelá is only provided with a service book containing a portion of the service, nor is he authorised to do all that a Mahant would do. Even when a Mahant is present the service on Sundays is only said in part and is usually brought to a close at midnight. The full service is read at *Puran Màsi*. One of my informants told me that there were generally between 30 and 40 present at the Chauka which he attended on Sundays.

A full *Chauka* service or Artí Prasád, followed by *Jot Prasád*, can be held at any time, if some one is willing to defray all expenses, including the cost of the meal that follows in accordance with custom.

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Chelas who could be trusted to keep them safe from all pollution. Such supplies could be utilised at the close of a *Puran másí Chauka*, when a Mahant was not present, or in cases of serious illness. Every Mahant, he added, kept by him a certain amount of *Prasad*, but he alone could administer or prepare this.

The Mahant explained further that it was only essential that the dying should receive *Charan Mitra* and *Parwána*; the former testified to the Chela's utter devotion to Kabir, while the latter constituted his passport to the Gurú's heavenly mansion.

Upon the death of a member of the *Panth* two cocoanuts are immediately purchased. One of these is carried by the barber in the funeral procession and placed by the side of the dead body, immediately before cremation or burial ; [25] the other is kept in the house and reserved as an offering at the funeral *Chauka* to be held at some subsequent date.

The arrangements in connexion with a Funeral Chauka differ from those of an ordinary Chauka in that the awning over the prepared ground is of red instead of white material, a piece of white cloth is placed over the *chaukâ* to represent the dead man's body and the

(25). The bodies of Bairágis are buried ; those of householders, unless they have received *Bairag*, are usually cremated.

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number of betel leaves is reduced to 124, the leaf removed representing the dead man's portion.

At the commencement of the service the Mahant prays silently on behalf of the deceased that he may be preserved from all dangers on his journey. Upon the conclusion of this prayer five funeral *bhajans* are sung, after which all present three times do *bandagi* to the Gurú and to the piece of white cloth that represents the body of the deceased.

The cocoanut which has been specially reserved for this service is next washed by the Mahant and made over to some relative of the deceased or, should there be no relative belonging to the Panth, to some member attached to the same Guru as the deceased. This man after applying the cocoanut to his forehead, shoulders etc. returns it with an offering to the Mahant, who breaks it upon a stone upon which camphor is burning. The rest of the service is conducted in the manner already described. The number of cocoanuts offered varies from one to nine according to the means of the friends and relatives. Each cocoanut involves a separate offering to the Mahant. The flesh of the cocoanut or cocoanuts is made up with flour etc. into small cakes which are sent round to the houses of Kabír Panthis by the hands of Bairágis.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES.

The Religious Orders of Islam.

The various orders of Darweshes in Islam correspond in a measure to the Sects of Hinduism. An interesting account of these Orders will be found in *Essays on Islam* by Canon Sell. From this account it appears that two at least of these Orders were probably established in India previous to the time of Kabír ; the Qàdiríyah, founded in 1165, and the Qalandariyah, who were practically Sufis and founded in 1232.

The following details in the organisation of these Orders are worthy of attention in connexion with our subject :—

(1) The extreme respect shown to the Superior of the Order.

"The head of an Order is the spiritual heir of its founder, and is called the Shaikh. ...He is looked up to with the greatest veneration ; in fact absolute obedience to the Shaikh is the very essence of the system. ....The adoration of the Master too often takes the place of the worship of God, and the ideal life of a Darwesh is one which is absolute conformity to the will of the Shaikh. Thus, Thou shalt be in the hands of thy Shaikh as a corpse in the hands of those who prepare it for burial. God speaks to thee through him. Thou art his slave and thou canst do nothing without his order. He

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is a man chosen of God. Banish from thy heart any thought to which God or the Shaikh might object."

(2). Branch establishments (Zàwiyah) under the control of a Muqqadim who must be implicitly obeyed by all members of the Order, living in the monastery.

(3). The spiritual guide is called a Pír (Hindu, Gurú). The ordinary members of the Order are called Ikhwàn (Brothers), Ashàb (companions), Murid (Disciples), or generically Darweshes.

(4). There are lay associates, not resident in the monasteries who are in possession of secret signs and words, by use of which they can obtain protection from the community. Lay associates also employ the rosary of the Order.

(5). Once or twice a year the Muqaddims meet in conference to consider questions relating to the well-being of the Order. This meeting is called Hazrat ; cf the use of Huzur as applied by Kabír Panthis to the Mahant at Headquarters.

(6). Novitiates are required to prepare themselves for admission into the Order by fasting, spiritual retreat, prayer and almsgiving.

(7). Newly admitted members are said to have entered upon the Tariqa (path, Panth).

(8). All members are required to repeat daily a special form of prayer (Zikr),

Hindu Monastic Orders had been previously formed in India by Sankaràchárya, Ràmanúja Ràmanand etc.

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Nanak, a Hindu by birth, was frequently addressed as a Darwésh and associated much with Muhammadans.

Early Christian influences in Northern India.

There have been Christians in Southern India from early days and it is quite possible that Hindu reformers, such as Sankaràchárya and Ràmanùja, came in contact with them. The former was possibly indebted to Christianity for some part of his reforming zeal, while Rámanúja and his disciple Ràmanand[1] seem also to have been influenced by Christian teaching. From ancient times the more religiously disposed Hindus have been accustomed to visit places of pilgrimage in all parts of the country and when on pilgrimage to converse freely with all who enjoyed a reputation for spiritual enlightenment. Christian thought, in varying degrees of purity, may in this way have penetrated regions unvisited by professing Christians.[2]

The first Roman Catholic missionary to India of whose work we have any account was Friar Jordanus of the Dominican Order. He visited the east in 1321-3 and again in 1330. He mentioned Surat, Baroch and Quilon as places well suited to become centres of Missionary effort. The Inquisition, established at Goa in 1560, punished Muham-

(1) In describing Rámanand as a disciple of Rámanúja I do not wish to imply that the two were contemporaneous. All that is certain is that Rámanand belonged originally to the School of Rámanúja.

(2) For further information on this subject see Dr. Grierson's lecture on *Modern Hinduism and its debt to the Nestorians.*

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madans and other strangers who exercised their religion in the countries subject to the King of Portugal.[3] It is probably to the Inquisition that a Kabír Panthi refers when, in describing the evils which the Panth was intended to remedy, he writes that at one time religion was so little thought of that a strange people came from the West and made the observance of religious rites a criminal offence, punishable with death.

We do not as yet know much about the work of Christian missionaries in Northern India previous to 1570,[4] but we know that the Emperor Akbar in 1579 sent an envoy to the Viceroy of Goa, with a request that he would send to his court some Christian teachers, capable of holding controversy with Muhammadan Mullahs. In response to this request Father Rudolf Aquaviva and two others were despatched to the royal court at Fatehpúr Síkri. Rudolf returned to Goa in 1583.[5] At the request of the same Emperor a second deputation, including Hieronymus Xavier a grand nephew of St. Francis Xavier, was sent to Lahore in 1595. For the instruction of non-Christians Father Xavier wrote several books; *Dastán Masíh* (Life of Christ), *Dastàn San Pedro* (Life of St. Peter), and

(3) See *The Syrian Church in India* by G. M. Rae pp187-8, 198.

(4) I am informed that Father Felix is engaged in collecting material for a book that should throw interesting light upon the work of the Roman Church in Northern India, including Kashmir and Thibet.

(5) For further details about Father Rudolf's Mission, see *First Christian Mission to the Great Moghul*, by Father Goldie, published by Gill and Son, Dublin.

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Aína Haqq núma (The mirror of Truth). *Dastán-i-Masîh* was presented by him to Akbar at Agra in 1602 and subsequently published with a Latin translation by Ludovicus de Dieu in 1639. This work is described as "Historia Christi, sed contaminata." Xavier's work entitled *Aína Haqq núma* was published about 1608 and provoked a reply from Ahmad Ibn Zain to which he gave the name "The Divine rays in refutation of Christian error."[6] Dean Prideaux calls this book "The Brusher of the Glass" and Guadagnoli refers to it as *Politor Speculi*. Guadagnoli possibly made use of an Arabic version of the original Persian. The Jesuits were much alarmed at the appearance of this Muhammadan work and invited some one to answer it without delay. Bonaventura Malvasia, a Franciscan friar of Bononia, replied with *Dilucidatio Speculi verum monstrantis* in 1628 and Philip Guadagnoli wrote *Apologia pro Christiana religione* which was published in Latin at Rome in 1631 and translated into Arabic in 1637. This latter essay contained many appeals to Popes and Councils which would carry little weight with Muhammadan and Hindu readers.

(6) I have had an opportunity of examining two interesting publications bearing upon the subject, *viz* "Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Muhammadanism" by Henry Martyn, edited by Rev. S. Lee, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge and published at the Cambridge University Press in 1824; and a work by Dean Prideaux of Norwich, first published in 1697 entitled "The true nature of imposture, fully displayed in the life of Mahomet." This second work contains an interesting account of all books consulted by the author.

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Chapter VII.

The Teaching of the Panth.

In considering the teaching of Kabír we confined our attention to two books, the *Bijak* and the *Adi Granth*. In that case we had practically no choice in the matter; these were the only two books which could be regarded as truly representative of the Gurú's teaching. The literature of the Panth is ever on the increase, but the thoughts expressed in most of the writings are very similar.[1] It therefore seems best in this case too to confine our attention to two works which may be regarded as representative of the literature as a whole and to present the reader with an abstract of their teaching. The books selected for this purpose are *Sukh Nidán* and *Amar Mul*, both of which are closely associated with the Dharm Dáss section of the Panth.

The *Sukh Nidàn* is highly spoken of by Prof. H. H. Wilson, but we have come across no evidence in support of his statement that its teaching "is only imparted to pupils whose

(1) For a list of the more important writings in connexion with the Panth, see Additional Note.

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studies are considered to approach perfection."[2] According to Kabir Panth tradition this book was written about 1729. The character of the language in which it is written, and the subject matter of the treatise afford evidence in support of this tradition. The *Amar Mul* is of still later origin, but more representative of the teaching given at the present time to members of the Panth.[3]

Abstract of Sukh Nidan.[4]

Chapter I. The Creator who made all things is king of all. He is the ground, the seed, the root, the branches and the tree itself. Nothing exists apart from him. He has existed in all ages and has admonished all. He is to be found in the heart wherein he has settled. Men have been led astray by Máyá. From the heart of man springs good and evil; charity, faith, right-

(2) Prof. Wilson seems to have regarded Dharm Dass (the servant of religion) as the representative disciple and to have received no information about that section of the Panth which seems in many ways to be the more important of the two.

(3) Each book belonging to the Dharm Dass section, and practically all the literature does belong to this section, is prefaced by a list of Mahants up to the date of production. This practice should throw considerable light upon the date of production, but its value is neutralised by two circumstances. The MSS are generally so badly written that the copyist prefers to copy the list of Mahants from some printed book, while those who do persevere in copying from the original often think it more respectful to the ruling Mahant to bring the list up to date.

(4) For this abstract I am indebted to the Rev. Ahmad Shah.

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eousness, sin, goodness, nearness, distance, *tìrath* and fasts.

Chapter II. Dharm Dáss was in the habit of worshipping Sàlig Ráma. He used to bow down to Bhagats and Bairágìs and to entertain Sadhus of all kinds. He read the *Bhagawad Gíta* and honoured Gópála in word and deed. He wore a *tilak* on his forehead and round his neck a *mála* of *tulsi* wood. He visited Dwárka, Jaggannáth, Gayá and Benares, but failed to find rest for his soul. He sang the praises of Ráma and Krishna, but all in vain. When he was at Mattra Kabír suddenly appeared before him and asked what he had been doing all his life. Dharm Dáss replied that he had been engaged in worshipping the gods and in visiting places of pilgrimage. Kabír told him that both he and the gods whom he worshipped had been deluded by Máyá; that gods, like Ráma and Krishna who did not even know the hour of their death had no right to be considered omniscient or omnipresent.

Chapter III.—Dharm Dáss was at first disgusted by the teaching of Kabír and thought, 'This low caste man wishes to lead me astray.' He ordered his servant to make a fire that he might prepare food for Sálig Ráma. Dharm Dáss perceived that numberless ants together with their eggs were being consumed in the fire.

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His heart was touched aud he began to think that it was sad that the preparation of food for Sálig Ráma should involve the loss of so much life. Kabír again appeared before him and rebuked him for his cruelty. He implored him to have mercy upon *Jivas*, to put out the flame and save as many lives as possible. He once more explained that Ráma, Krishna and Sâlig Ráma were no gods and that Ráma himself had been responsible for the loss of many lives. Kabír when he saw that Dharm Dáss was much addicted to fasting, rebuked him, saying that without food or rest he could not expect to find God. It was equally futile, he said, to wander about from one place of pilgrimage to another. He should look for one in whose heart was pity and true religion. Dharm Dáss disregarded this advice and continued in his former course.

Chapter IV.—Dharm Dáss next visited Benares and saw there an extraordinary spectacle; learned Pandits and Brahmins worsted in argument by an ordinary man. He thought to himself, "This must be the *Zinda Purush* whom I met before at Mattra." He accordingly asked Kabír, Who are you? Where do you live? Whom do you worship? Who is the Creator of the world and who is the Master of this life?

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Kabír replies, I am Sat Purush; I am peace and comfort; I am Sukrit; I am Sat Kabír: I am the Creator of this world. I have created the five elements: I have established three qualities. I am the seed and the tree: I am the possessor of qualities. All are contained in me: I live within all and all live within me.

Dharm Dáss inquires, If you are all things and there is nothing apart from you, how comes it about that there are heaven and hell, Ráma and Krishna, Hindu and Turk?

Kabír replies—Your questions are reasonable, but remember earth, air, fire, water and ether are but forms of me: the whole universe is made of these. Therefore I am in all and all is contained in me. Kabír then in a lengthy speech explained how the universe came into existence. This speech is practically an exposition of certain *Ramainis* and *Shabdas* contained in the *Bijak*.

Chapter V.—At the conclusion of this speech Dharm Dáss throws his Sálig Ráma into the river Ganges. He then asked Kabír how he could be described as *Nirákár* (without form) seeing that he is in all things, acts in all things and speaks in all things. Kabír explains at length that Máyá has deceived Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, and that woman has long been notorious for her craftiness. He mourns

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for his three sons, Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, who had been deceived by Máyá, and explains that it is for their sakes, to save them and their descendants, that he has appeared in the world in every age.

Chapter VI.—Dharm Dáss asks, "O Zinda Purush, when there were no fields, no trees, no fruits, no herbs, upon what did you live?" Kabír explains that his body is immortal and requires no material food. He again refers to his three sons and the wickedness of Máyá and relates the efforts made by his sons to remove the effects of Máyá's evil doing.

Chapter VII.—Dharm Dáss next inquires regarding the division of earth and sky, and the institution of places of pilgrimage. Kabír explains that all this is the doing of his three sons whom Máyá had deceived. He explains the character of the various places of pilgrimage and the origin of religious sects and caste. Dharm Dass asks what orders he has for him, that he may obey them. Kabír replies; My only order for you is that you should save yourself and save others. He concludes by declaiming against false teachers and enlarges on the punishments that await their followers.

Chapter VIII.—Dharm Dáss gives expression to a difficulty that perplexes him. Men journey on pilgrimage to every quarter of the

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No man can be saved by the mere singing of God's praises, any more than a parrot can save itself from the cat by singing the praises of God.

Dharm Dáss asks how salvation is to be obtained. Kabír replies :—Be constant, utter not false words, show love to others, associate with good people and especially with Sádhús. Gather wisdom from every source, attend to the wants of holy men : whenever they come to your house, wash their feet and drink the *Charan Mitra* : feed them and supply them with every comfort, learn from them whatever of good they can teach you. I am the Sádhú and all Sádhús dwell in me. If you meet with a true Sádhú, then your thoughts, words and deeds will become perfect. There are men who have disguised themselves as Sádhús, but have no right to the title. Then Dharm Dáss says, O Sat Gurú, now I know that you are the Creator, the true Sádhú and all in all. You are my Master and my place of pilgrimage. I have only one more question to ask : Those who confess their faith in you, dwell in you ; but those who fail to recognise you or decline to obey your commands, what will be the end of

such men ? what has become of those who in old days were accounted sages but knew you not ? Kabír replied, All such have been rewarded according to their works. Some have become stars, some insects or moths, some have become plants. Others have gone to hell and there they will remain for many ages. All such must pass through 84 lakhs of forms before they can obtain salvation. Those who believe in me, become absorbed in me.

Dharm Dáss entreats Kabír to accompany him to his house that he may also instruct his wife and son. When he returned to his house at Bandogarh his wife, Amíní, asked him why he had been absent so long. He tells her that he has found in Kabír him for whom he had been searching so long at places of pilgrimage and bids her also find in him the Creator of the universe, for Kabír had solved for him all the mysteries of this world. Amíní says, 'What answer shall I give to your request ? You know that some say that the creator is without form, others that he is to be found in the persons of Ráma or Krishna.' Dharm Dáss relates his own experiences, after which Amíní too becomes a disciple of Kabír. Food is prepared and a cocoanut and betel leaf are also brought and Kabír prepares for them the *Mahá Prasád*.

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Abstract of Amar Mul[5].

Chapter I. Dharm Dass explains that all the souls in the world are overwhelmed with troubles and implores the Sat Gurú to extract with all speed the arrow with which their heart is pierced. In reply to this entreaty the Sat Gurú declares that immortality attaches to those into whose heart the immortal Word has entered. To Dharm Dass's request for an explanation of the mystery of union and separation, the Sat Gurú replies that to obtain Mukhti an understanding of the Letterless One is necessary with the help of the Betel Leaf and the Cocoanut; that the Supreme Being is unconditioned as containing the essence of the Letterless One; conditioned as manifesting the Divine mystery to man; that a true belief in the conditioned and the unconditioned and absorption in the Word are required of all who would escape from the power of Yáma and the toils of transmigration.

Without a knowledge of the Name none can safely cross the ocean of existence. To four Gurùs has it been given to convey souls safely to the Satya Loka (Paradise), and of these four the chief is Dharm Dáss. It is for him and his 42 decendants to rescue souls from the tyranny

(5) This abstract was prepared from a translation of *Amar Mul* made for me by Mr. U. R. Clement, Head Master of the Mission School, Indore, and formerly Second Master of the Collegiate School, Cawnpore.

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of Kál. Of one alone is Kál afraid and that one is the Word. The spoken word is Máyá; the unutterable name alone is true, the name that pervades all hearts. When the voice of the Word was sounded the indestructible one took form. As clouds obstruct the rays of the sun, so does Máyá withhold from man true knowledge. That soul alone attains perfection which learns the secret of the immortal root (*Amar Mul.*)

Dharm Dáss presses for a further explanation of the Betel Leaf and the Cocoanut. The Sat Gurú replies that the Betel Leaf was not produced in the way of nature but proceeded from the Word, and that the Cocoanut when broken by the true Word is accepted as a substitute for the soul which, as all else in the three Lokas, has been made over by Purusha to Dhamráe, the Angel of Death. The Cocoanut, the Betel leaf and the Word are the three boats in which souls can safely cross the Ocean of life.

He who would be saved must receive the Betel Warrant, serve the Sadhús with attention and become absorbed in the true Word. This is the secret to be revealed to the wise by Dharm Dáss and his descendants.

Chapter II. The Sat Gurú explains that átma and Brahma are one through union with Param-

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átma. Atma stands in the same relation to Paramátma as the wave to the ocean, the spark to the fire and the ornament to the gold out of which it is fashioned. The soul abides in Brahma, as light shines in the rays of the sun. Thus Jìva and Brahma which are commonly regarded as two are really one. Those who have gained this knowledge obtain emancipation.

Dharm Dàss next asks the Sat Gurú to explain to him the Letterless One, the bodiless Shabda in the body. The Sat Gurú explains that all who have assumed bodies have been produced by Shabda. Shabda is perfect and all else fragmentary The true Shabda reverberates in the Universe. He who knows the Letterless One finds an abode in Satya Loka. In answer to further inquiries the Sat Gurú explains that the splendour of the soul in Satya Loka is equal to that of sixteen suns while the glory of Purusha himself is indescribable. The true name is the basis of the soul. By a draught of nectar doubts are removed and the thirst of ages satisfied. All the souls in Satya Loka see with the feelings of love and never give utterance to unkind thoughts. Hope and desire find no place there. The sins of millions of births are washed away by the influence of the Name. Without the Name all efforts are in vain; without the Name knowledge is of no account. As darkness prevails where

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there is no lamp, so is there darkness in the heart that is without the Name.

Chapter III. To reach the Ocean of Bliss souls must serve the Satgur and so banish the fear of all ; they must receive the sacramental food and render acceptable service to their Gurú; they must promote the happiness of others and recognise that the Gurú is identical with the Lord ; they must be simple-minded and drink the water in which Sadhus have washed their feet ; they must never speak ill of their Gurú and meditate on the love of the Letterless One; they must remember the Name day and night, and place no trust in the illusion of Karma. He who knows the Name is of the family of Dharm Dáss. The Veda knows not the extent of the Name. All declare, 'We know not, we know not'. The Pandit reads and gropes in the dark; he knows not the existence of the Adí Brahma. The acquisition of knowledge produces pride and is of no use in the hour of death. Eighteen Puranas have been written and of these the Bhágawata is the best. It explains the glory of Brahma and establishes the efficacy of devotion. Fools read, but to no purpose; they think not of that which is obtainable through the intellect. Those only obtain wisdom who fall in with the Sat Gurú. Of what use is the boat without the boatman ?

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He who knows the secret of the rosary is absorbed in the true Name. Welcome the secret that overcomes fear in all three forms, physical, mental and spiritual. Escape thus from the halter of many births.

Doubt, the angel of Kál, has taken up his abode in the hearts of men. Doubt is the offspring of Dharma. He who understands the letterless one banishes doubt and enters into the house of immortality. Only through a knowledge of the Name can doubt be banished from the heart.

Dharm Dass urges that but few Jívas possess knowledge. How then can the world escape destruction?

The Sat Gurú replies, I impart to you the secret of him that possesses knowledge. The *Hansa* that receives the Betel warrant will undoubtedly attain Nirvána. He in whose heart there is belief will safely cross the ocean of rebirths. After receiving the Betel he will speak the truth. He will keep the feet of the Satgur in his heart. He will sacrifice all for the Satgur and attend to the needs of the saints. He will banish all fondness for sons and wife and forsake all for the feet of the Satgur. He will wash his feet and drink of the washings. So in the hereafter will he drink nectar in Satya Loka. Dharm Dáss inquires whether women also

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can obtain salvation. The Sat Gurú replies:—Women also can cross the ocean by faith in the Name. Women are without knowledge, therefore they must offer their body, mind and wealth to the Sants, and serve them devotedly. If they despise the Sants they will fall into the snare of Dhamráe. Those women can escape the noose of Kàl who offer all at the feet of the Gurú and serve him day and night.

The Sat Gurú exhorts Dharm Dáss to shake off illusion and teach to men devotion, for on him has been placed the burden of the world and it is his seal that will be everywhere respected. To him too has been entrusted the touchstone by means of which crows (*Jívas*) can be converted into swans (*Hansas*). Through the vehicle of the Name the shape and colour of the Jiva can be changed.

Chapter IV. Dharm Dáss inquires into the meaning of the touchstone and is told that it varies in the case of individuals. In the case of the wise it is to be found in a knowledge of Shabda, in the case of children in the reception of the Betel leaf, and in the case of the passionate in devotion.

After all these explanations the Sat Gurú is angered when Dharm Dáss asks how it is possible for the Sant to live in this world, and disappears from view. Dharm Dáss is much

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distressed and cries, "Be merciful, O Lord, the perfect Gurú. I knew not that you could read the heart; through ignorance I failed to understand your teaching. In my pride I erred; pardon my fault. O Gurú, you are the true Gurú; like unto Brahma. I was very proud, but when a child speaks foolishly its parents hasten to forget its foolishness. O Lord, the merciful one, have pity on me now. If you do not reveal yourself to me again, I will destroy my life. It was you who imparted to me this religion, therefore I put to you that question." Kabír had pity on Dharm Dàss and again appeared before him. The joy of Dharm Dáss was as that of the Chakor when it beholds the moon.

He held fast to the feet of the Gurù and worshipped him; he washed his feet and drank of the water in which they had been washed. Then he prayed, "O Lord, give unto thy servant *Mahàprasád*".

At the bidding of Dharm Dáss Amini prepared a plentiful repast and Arti was offered in a golden vessel. The wife of Dharm Dáss and all his children fell at the Gurú's feet and drank the water in which they had been washed. All listened to the words of divine knowledge. The Lord Kabír sat at the Chauka. After Kabír had eaten and washed, he offered Prasád to Dharm Dáss and all those who were present.

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All that were in the house were filled with joy.

Then Amini prepared a bed upon which the Sat Gurú took his seat. Dharm Dáss fanned him, while Amini shampooed his feet. All the Sants adored him. Then Amini said, Lord, I offer in thy service this body of mine, my heart, my wealth and all that I possess. Do as it pleaseth thee. Then the Lord took her by the hand and set her beside him on the bed. He tested her and placed his hand kindly on her head and said, Amini, go your way, I see that your mind is chaste. The mind leads one to do good and bad actions, and makes the body act according to its pleasure. For your sake I have renounced all desires of the flesh.

The Sat Gurú then renewed his promises to Dharm Dáss assuring him that he should have forty-two generations of children in whose hands would rest the salvation of the world.

Dharm Dáss said, 'O Lord, grant unto my descendants this blessing that through them souls may be set free. This is my prayer, that my descendants may be accounted as yours; then all will be saved.'

The Sat Gurú replied, "In the world the Hansas will be set free by the hands of thy descendants. The children of thy generations shall be welcomed as a touchstone. They will

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be free from the disturbance of passion, their minds will be absorbed in the contemplation of Shabda, their mode of living will be serious and collected; their thoughts and words will be directed towards the truth; they will have a knowledge of self and subtle things. He is my descendant who knows Shabda. How can he be saved who makes distinctions in the touch-stone? I have revealed the path to you, but remember that there is no sin so great as that of hiding the path of salvation. Those who know the word should proclaim it in various countries and liberate all Hansas that have intelligence. None can be saved without the Name. All who are without the Name are proud. Very few have experience of the Name. Dharm Dáss, remember, I am day and night with him who knows the Name."

Chapter V. The Sat Gurú explains that Dhamráe had objected to his coming into the world to save souls since all three Lokas had been made over to him by Purusha, and had asked by what name he hoped to liberate the Hansas. All who performed religious acts were in his power, including Shiva, as he sat with pride in *Samádhi*; in the great day of destruction all would be destroyed by him, even Vishnu, the greatest of all. Gyáni had replied that Dhamráe had acted as a thief, seeking to estab-

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lish his authority where he had no right to rule and that for this reason he had been sent forth to rescue souls by Purusha, the true God, with whom Dhamráe had vainly striven to identify himself. Dhamráe had implored Gyáni to be kind to him, even as Purusha had been kind, but that Gyáni had only consented to leave him undisturbed on condition that he would promise not to approach those who had received the Betel leaf, to treat with kindness all who had become Gyáni and to show love to all who had welcomed Shabda. Dhamráe had accepted this offer, but had at the same time been warned that his rule would come to an end so soon as Shabda had become established in the world.

Dharm Dáss thanks the Sat Gurú for having thus cooled the lotus of his heart, and asks for a fuller account of Kál.

The Sat Gurù explains that Kál is the cause of all actions in this world, that he has deceived the ten Avatars of Vishnu, is the cause of virtue and vice, is in reality a form assumed by Purusha and has power over all but Shabda. Kál is the author of that duality which exists wherever the true Word has not been apprehended. *Yog, jap, tap,* sacrifice and alms-giving all have their origin in a fear of Kál. Kál is an embodiment of selfishness; he devours all who live a life of enjoyment. Through Kál

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creation has come into existence and in Kàl it will fade away.

In reply to an inquiry as to which was first, Purusha or Kál, the Sat Gurú explains that first was space, and that in that space Purusha produced Shabda from Shabda, that space and time (Kál) were really one, but that so terrible was Kál that none dare look upon his face. But for the noose of Kàl there had been no need for devotion. Only through a knowledge of the Name could the fear of Kál be overcome.

Chapter VI.—In connexion with an account of the Chauka Dharm Dáss asks for how many sins a cocoanut should be broken and is told that a cocoanut is broken for sins a lakh and a quarter in number. He is also told that the splitting of the straw will wash away the sins of many births.

The following Mantras are prescribed :—

(1) *At the time of drinking water.*—Immortal tank and transparent water. The Hansa drinks to his satisfaction. The body is gold, the mind is blissful, the fear of Karma is effaced.

(2) *At the time of bathing.*—The water of Sat Sukrit was brought in. The child of Dhani bathed. He directed his attention to the feet of the Lord. Kabír says—Hear, Dharm Dáss, in the beginning and the end there exists an abode of blazing flame. The immortal name

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is peaceful. In fourteen mansions and nine apartments there is one true Kabír.

(3) *At the time of taking food.*—The Chauka is made of the Word that removes fear; purification is the result of satisfaction and good character. There is the light of love and faith; Sat Sukrit began to dine. When the name of Sat Sukrit was pronounced, the water became sacred, giving joy to the Sants. All the Sants united to produce light. Father Kabír began to eat and the wealthy Dharm Dass was taking his food. Then all the Sants took Prasád. The saved enjoyed the absence of fear.

Dharm Dáss makes inquiry as to what is necessary for the proper performance of Artí. He is told that in the first place the house should be whitewashed. There should be provided seven cocoanuts, thirty and a quarter maunds of sweet meats of eight different kinds, three and a quarter pounds of sugar candy, twelve thousand betel leaves and a plentiful supply of sandal wood, camphor, cloves, betel nuts and cardamums. A silk dhoti should be provided for the officiating Mahant, the canopy over the Chauka should be made of gold cloth and the vessel in which the dew is collected should be of gold.

Whoever celebrates an Artí after this manner will pass immediately to Satya Loka, provided

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that it is not celebrated from any selfish motive.

Dharm Dáss urges that in this Kali Yuga men are poor and very few could afford to celebrate an Arti on so liberal a scale.

The Sat Gurú replies that a simpler form is permissible. In this three and a quarter pounds of sweets, one cocoanut and a hundred betel leaves will suffice, but a new Dhoti must be provided for the Mahant and an offering of money made by all present to the Sat Gurù.

He further adds that when the *Kadhàr* (disciples) are not in a position to celebrate the Arti once a month, it will be sufficient to celebrate it twice in the year, in the months of Phágun (February) and of Bhádon (August).

In conclusion the Sat Gurú warns Dharm Dáss that the Gurú who celebrates the Artî must have a knowledge of the letter, otherwise both he and his disciples will find themselves in Hell (Jám Loka).

Chapter VII. The Sat Gurú discourses on the four castes.

The special duty of the *Brahmin* is to gain a knowledge of Brahma. He in vain repeats the *Gyátrí*, performs *Sandhya* and reads the Vedas, if he is devoid of knowledge. Why do he Brahmins confine their attention to Sanskrit? Is the vernacular unsuited to spiritual

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instruction? The Brahmins in pride of heart despise the Sàdhús who are true seekers after God and taunt them with having given up caste for the sake of their stomachs. Those who know not Brahma and neglect to practise devotion cannot obtain salvation.

The special duties of the *Kshatrya* are to protect cows, Brahmins and women. But in an age when cows are slaughtered, Brahmins draw their own water and men commit adultery, of what use are the Kshatryas? They commit murder and receive the praise of men, but the true Kshatrya is he who exercises forbearance and has true sympathy with others.

The special duties of the *Vaishya* are to have pity upon the hungry and to go on pilgrimage, but it is vain to strain water before drinking, in the desire to save life, if there is no faith in Hari. Those who indulge in sensuality fall into the power of Yámaráj, and in vain worship Parasnáth, the great, wise Gurú, when they disregard his counsel. Let all such fall at the feet of the Sat Gurú and learn the secret of the Name.

The *Sudra* whose duty it is to render service has discovered the Bhakti of the Satgur. He serves the Brahmin and has cast forth from his heart all desires of the flesh, anger and avarice. He serves also the Kshatryas and the

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Vaishyas and is well spoken of in Brahma Loka. Other castes neglect their duties, but the Sudra prostrates himself at the feet of the Sat Gurú and so finds his way to Satya Loka.

Dharm Dáss, you are a Sudra by caste, but all who honour the water of your feet will escape from the ocean of rebirths. The soul that is born a Sudra is saved, if it meditates on Brahma. Kál in vain attacks the soul that knows the mystery of Shabda.

Dharm Dáss says, Lord, through you I have obtained Mukhti, but why has not my family also obtained it?

The Sat Gurú explains that his descendants up to the eighth generation will be tainted with pride, treat with contumely men who bear the name of Kabír, and seek honour in the world instead of placing reliance on the Name.

Those who practise true Bhakti save themselves and others, spend all that they have in feeding Sádhús, speak the truth to all, cherish the true name in their hearts suffer not feelings of anger to arise, speak under the influence of the Name, reason about knowledge and preach the doctrine of Shabda.

In the eighth generation will be born a child who will bring men back into the true Path.[6]

(6) Are we to infer from this statement that *Amar Mul* was written when the eighth Mahant was on the gaddi?

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The Jìva that finds the immortal Name loses all fear. I dwell in the heart in which the immortal Shabda shines. Regrets will be the portion of him who finds not the immortal Name.

Chapter VIII. Dharm Dáss gives expression to his belief that the Purusha dwells in the Gurú and that there is no distinction between the Gurú and the Purusha. The Sat Gurú again describes the work assigned to Dharm Dáss and his descendants. Dharm Dáss says that with the permission of the Gurù he will send all the children (disciples) to Satya Loka. The Sat Gurú reminds him that there are two kinds of children, those of the flesh and those of the spirit, and that the spiritual children are those who cherish the name of the Sat Gurú. The time will come, he adds, when all creation will enter Satya Loka and all animate beings become absorbed in the Satgur.

Dharm Dáss urges that the work of saving souls belongs to the Sat Gurú and that he himself might well be relieved of so great responsibility. This the Satgur declines to do.

Dharm Dáss inquires why he, being the Purusha, had visited this mortal world. The Satgurú speaks of the time when there was neither space nor non-space, neither sin nor righteousness, neither Shesha (serpent) nor Kál, neither the

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seven days of the week nor the fifteen days of the lunar month, when Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva had no existence. Then the Adi Purusha produced the world through Shabda and Shabda produced intelligence. Finally Kàl was brought into existence and began to persecute the Jìvas. Purusha perceiving this had pity upon them and sent the Satgur to rescue them from the clutches of Kàl.

He compares Purusha to a child who builds a house and then destroys it and afterwards runs crying to his mother, saying, "Build again for me my house." Such is the sport of Purusha. He is foolish and he is wise, he is proud and he is humble, he is true and he is false. Such teaching is only for those who have the power to understand.

Dharm Dáss asks for an explanation of Atma Gyán that all the Hansas may obtain salvation. The Sat Gurù explains that he who has divine knowledge will understand that the Gurú and the Chela are one. So also the enemy and the friend are one. Himself is active and himself is passive; himself shows and himself sees; himself causes birth and death, and himself is death; himself is the image and himself the worshipper; himself is the branch and himself the tree; himself is all manifest and himself is hidden in himself.

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But why, Dharm Dàss asks, why if all is equivalent to Brahma, does the Jíva remain in ignorance ? The Sat Gurú explains that Brahma is the seed out of which all things are developed and that the Shabda is of subtle form ; that the Jíva is in Brahma as the wave is in the sea, the ray of light in the sun, oil in the oil seed and the scent in the flower.

Such is the relation of Atma to Paramàtma.

Chapter IX. The Sat Gurù explains that all sense of duality is due to Máyá, that when man knows himself he becomes himself, and when he realises himself he becomes Brahma. Until he knows himself he weeps and cries, and wades through the swamp of delusion.

The light of knowledge shines forth when Brahma abides in the heart. Then *Karma* and *Dharma* are obliterated ; then there is neither coming nor going. As it was, so it is, and all intervening delusion disappears. All apparent contradictions are reconciled in the fulness of knowledge. Brahma himself is the Word that cannot be uttered, and himself the Word that speaks to all ; himself is formless and himself is all the forms ; he is both *Nirguna* and *Saguna*. Dharm Dáss is warned that he must first purify his own heart and mind before he can so preach to others that they can obtain *Mukhti* and escape from the toils of Transmigration. All

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reasonings and religious writings are the work of Máyà; what is required is devotion and *Tattwagyán*, (the knowledge of essentials). All delusion (*Bharma*) is removed through meditation.

The Sat Gurú explains that he was once in Satya Loka, or rather beyond it, and that he then saw what is indescribable; that the form of Purusha was wonderful, to be imagined, not described; that the abodes in Satya Loka were innumerable and that in all Hansas was discernible the one letter. In the Loka of Kabír he saw the forms of many Kabírs, but looking again he saw that it was but one form multiplied. In the light of the true Shabda all is one, there is no second.

The people of the world are taught by means of stories, but for those who understand, all such stories fall far short of the truth. All apparent distinctions are the creation of the mind. He who knows the letter thoroughly suffers no duality to enter into his mind. The only difference between Brahma and Jíva is this, that the latter is the reflection of the former.

Chapter X. The Sat Guru instructs Dharm Dàss to act thus in the case of one who wishes to become a disciple. In the first place he should give him betel, then, if he seems to possess *gyán*, reveal to him the majesty of Shabda,

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and when his faith in Shabda is confirmed impart to him profound knowledge. Atmàràm abides in the heart of him who has full knowledge. When Atmàrám is realised, he himself is Atmàràm; he knows no second.

The Sat Gurú tells how once when he was in Satya Loka Purusha appeared to him and said "Kabìr, you and I are one; entertain no thought of duality. I am in you and my form is in all the earth. There are eighty-four lakhs of species and I live in all. Beside me there is no second. All creation is delusion. All the countless gods and sages, even Brahma himself, are entangled in delusion." Dharm Dàss rejoins, "O Gurú, this is your statement. Is there not need of a second witness?" The Sat Gurú replies that he made this statement in the Treta age, and that Madhukar, Brahmin, is the second witness. He continues, "Kabìr is in all bodies; the speaker is Shabda. There is one form and one Shabda. There is only one form, and one Shabda. There is only one form, one Shabda and one Purusha, manifest in all. He who knows one is one; the second is this world."

Dharm Dàss asks how it is that Jìvas fail to realise their unity with Brahma. The Sat Gurú replies, All the Jivas came from Brahm Loka undefiled and devoid of Karma. The clouds lift up the water from the ocean and rain down

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so does *Gyan* remove Karma and the purity of the Jìva is restored. Knowing itself, it separates itself from the water and being disembodied reaches the Durbar. The Atmà mingles with Paramàtmá, as the rivers flow into the ocean. Only in this way can Paramàtmà be found. The Atmà without Shabda is blind and cannot find the path. He who sees Atmàrám is present everywhere ; all he sees is like himself, there is nought else beside Brahma. "I am he, I am he ; the true Kabír."

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Literature on the Life and teaching of Kabìr.

Names printed in italics refer to writings that exist in manuscript only. In the case of printed books, the place of publication is added within brackets. An asterisk is prefixed to the names of MSS known only by hearsay.

1. *Achhar Bhèd ki Ramainì.*
2. *Achhar Khand ki Ramainì.*
3. *Agádh Mangal.*
4. *Agam Ujiyár.*
5. *Alif Nàmá.* (1)
6. *Alif Nàmà.* (2)
7. *Alif Námá.* (3)
8. *Allàh Tok.*
9. *Amar Múl.*
10. Ambú Ságar. (Bombay.)
11. Anú Rág Sàgar. (Bombay.)
12. *Asàr Gráhi ko ang.*
13. *Atam Anùbhau.*
14. *Balakh Paij.*
15. *Bhaktí ko ang.*
16. *Bhau Táran.*
17. *Bhopál Bòdh.*
18. *Báráh Màsà.*
19. *Basant.*
20. Bíjak with Commentary by Rájá of Rewah, (Lucknow, Benares and Bombay.)

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23 *Chauka ki Ramáini.*
24 *Chauntisi.*
25 *Garur Bòdh.*
26 *Gaurì.*
27 *Gorakh Gusht.*
28 Gur Updèsh. (Bombay.)
29 *Gyán Dipak.*
30 *Gyàn Gòdrí.*
31 Gyán Ságar. (Bombay.)
32 *Hansávalí.*
33 *Hanùmán Bòdh.*
34 *Horì.*
35 *Horì Rám Lílá.*
36 Kabìr Charitra Bódh. (Bombay.)
37. Kabìr Kasautì. (Bombay.)
38. Kabìr Manshúr. (Bombay.)
39. Kabìr Upàsnà. (Bombay.)
40. Kabìr Sàhib ki Sàkhí. (Lucknow.)
41. **Kamàl Gusht.*
42. *Karnì Binà Kathni ko ang.*
43. *Karni Sahit Kathnì ko ang.*
44. *Kúsangit ko ang.*
45. *Kurmaulì.*
46. **Madad Bódh.*
47. *Mangal.*
48. *Muktí Mál.*

49. *Muhammad Bódh.*
50. Múl Ramainì. (Lucknow)
51. **Músa Bòdh.*
52. *Nám Mahàtam.*
53. **Nànak Gusht.*
54. *Niranjan Gusht.*
55. *Nirbhai Gyàn.*
56. *Piya Pahchan ko ang.*
57. *Pùno Mahátam.*
58. *Ramanand Gusht.*
59. *Rekhtá.*
60. *Sadhù ko ang.*
61. *Sam Darsí ko ang.*
62. *Samjhe Ghat ko ang.*
63. Santókh Bódh. (27 writings, Bombay)
64. *Sarab Gyàta ko ang.*
65. *Sar Grahi ko ang.*
66. Sar Sangrah Prishnótar. (Lucknow.)
67. *Sarawag Saugar Sanyukt.*
68. *Sat Kabír ki Sàkhi.*
69. Sat Kabìr ki Shatak Satik. (Benares.)
70. *Sat Sang ko ang.*
71. *Sat Sang Mahima ko ang.*
72. *Shabd Bhawani.*
73. *Shabd Chauntisi.*
74. *Shabd Pùkar.*
75. **Sikandar Bòdh.*
76. *Sowansa Gunjar.*
77. *Sukh Nidhan.*
78. *Sukrit Dhyan.*

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79. Ugr Gìtà. (Lucknow)
80. **Vasist Muni Gusht.*
81. Vavek Sàgar. (Bombay.)
82. *Vavek Sangram.*

In addition to the above Prof. H. H. Wilson in *Essays on the Religion of the Hindus*, Vol. I pp. 76-7 mentions

Anand Ram Sagar.
Balakh ki Ramaini.
Chancharas.
Hindolas.
Jhúlanas.
Kabír Panjí.
Kaharas.
Shabdawalì.

Pandit Walji Bhai.

Pandit Walji Bhai, who worked for many years as a Pastor of the Irish Presbyterian Church at Borsad in the district of Khaira in Gujerat, devoted much time to a study of literature connected with the Kabír Panth and the religion of the Sikhs. The Pandit was led to believe that the Kabír Panth was instituted by Jesuits and found confirmation of this belief in the secrecy observed by members of the Panth regarding their literature and teaching.

In 1881 he published in Gujerati under the name *Kabìr Charitra* an exposition of his views upon the subject which he has elsewhere summarised thus:—

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1. In Kabír's book it is written that when the first woman Eve, being deceived, repented of her sin, God promised that from her sex a great Man will be born and He shall overcome Satan and save His people.

2. According to the promise, God sent His Son to save the world. This Son lived with God as Word from the beginning, and at the appointed time became flesh to save His people and was called Kabír.

3. He was tempted by Satan.

4. At last He was nailed to a tree and suffered agony.

5. God's Son took the burden of His people upon Himself.

6. God's Son worked miracles.

7. God's Son rose from the dead.

8. After God's Son rose from the dead He commanded His disciples to go to all countries and preach the Gospel.

9. God's Son ascended into heaven.

10. In Kabír's books baptism and the Lord's Supper are commanded to be observed. Generally, all the doctrines of the Bible are to be found in Kabír's books.

He further held that Nànak, the disciple of Kabír, was also influenced by Christian teaching and that Hari, the name given to the Sat Gurú in the Adi Granth, was used as a synonym for Christ. He worked out his theory with great industry and

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published the results of his studies in two small volumes, *Hari Charitra* and a *Key to the Adi Granth*.[1]

I had some interesting correspondence with the Pandit which was only interrupted by his death in December 1903.

The Pandit's writings are not marked by any great critical acumen. Many of his interpretations may be regarded as far fetched, while his suggested derivations of words are often more ingenious than convincing. His main position is undermined by the assumption that Kabir is responsible for all literature connected with the Panth. In spite, however, of these defects he has much to say that is both interesting and suggestive. Would that more Indian Christians would study the religious beliefs of their country with equal industry and enthusiasm, and that all Indian Clergy were as diligent as he in studies that result in a more perfect understanding of the Scriptures!

Addenda and Corrigenda.

Page 7. In the Qorán, Sura Mariam, the infant Jesus is represented as addressing those who were perplexed as to the nature of his birth, saying "Verily, I am the servant of God etc." See *Studies in the Qorán* by Rev. Ahmad Shah, p. 106.

(1) Both these books were printed at the Presbyterian Mission Press, Ludhiana, Panjab.

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Page 17. A short account of Mansur Al Halráz (the cotton carder) and Sháms Tabrezi, together with extracts from the latter's writings, will be found in *The Persian Mystics*, Wisdom the East Series, Murray.

Page 26. Och, the place where Syed Kabír-ud-dín Hassan resided, is in the neighbourhood of Balakh, the birth place of Jalál-ud-dín, *not* in Baluchistán.

Page 35. The statement that of the names Akbar, Kubra, and Kibriya, Kibriya alone is to be found in modern Qoráns, is inaccurate. All three names are to be found. Akbar occurs 22 times, Kubra 6 times and Kibriya twice.

Page 41. Balakh in north Afghanistán was the birth-place of Jalál-ud-dìn Rumi, the author of the *Masnawi*. It is for Sufis a place of pilgrimage. Kabír is said to have visited Balakh. The name also occurs in the title of two Kabír writings, *Balakh* and *Balakh ki Ramaini*

Page 46. The following Sákhi (187) occurs in the Bijak :—

I neither touched ink nor paper, nor did I take a pen into my hand ; to the sages of all four ages Kabír declared his word by mouth.

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Corrigenda.

Page 17. ll. 17 and 25. *For* Tahrezi *read* Tabrezi.
Page 25 l. 13. *For* Chishit *read* Chishiti.
Page 27. l. 6. *For* Bhura *read* Budhá.
Page 31. l. 12. *For* Khanti *read* Khanthi.
Page 40. note 3, l. 2. *For* Nidán *read* Nidhán.
Page 43. sub. fin. *For* Akardi *read* Aqardi, *and for* Tujáwar *read* Mujáwar.
Page 71. l. 22. *For* safe *read* Sádhú.
Page 73. ll. 18 and 20. *For* Saguna *read* Sarguna.
Page 76. l. 11. *For* Rádhi *read* Rádha.
Page 116. sub. fin. *For* Nidán *read* Nidhán.
Page 136. l. 25. *For* Tariqa *read* Tariqat.

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GLOSSARY.

Achhàr letter of the alphabet.
Agádh deep, unfathomable.
Agam unfathomable.
Akhàs the fifth element, ether.
Alif-náma account of Arabic alphabet.
Amar immortal.
Ambu perception, mind.
Amrita immortal (drink), nectar.
Anand happiness.
Anúrág desire.
Artì sacrificial offering of light.
Atmà soul.

Bairâg renunciation of the world.
Bandagí service, respectful salutation as from a slave to his master.
Bàrah twelve.
Basant tune or hymn associated with the season of spring.
Batása small wafer, made of sugar.
Be-dharm without religion.
Bhajan hymn, sung as an act of worship.
Bhaktí devotion.
Bhawání wife of Shiva. Shabd Bhawànì, a morning hymn.
Bhau fear.
Bhed secret, mystery.
Bodh knowledge.
Bunniah shop-keeper.

Chànchará an evening hymn.
Charitra picture, biography.

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Chaukà square space, specially prepared for the consumption of food.
Chauntisí Thirty four, letters of Hindi alphabet.
Chelà disciple, in relation to spiritual guide Gurú.

Dàl the split grain of certain kinds of pulse.
Dhotí a cloth, tied round the waist and falling over the legs.
Dhyàn attention to.
Dípak lamp.
Durbár a royal levee, the judgement hall of God.

Garur a mythical bird, mentioned in the Ràmayana.
Gauri a musical measure.
Ghat mind.
Ghát flight of steps, leading down to the river; used for religious bathing, for the cremation of the dead etc.
Ghí clarified butter.
Godrì a patch-work coat, worn by *sàdhùs*.
Gunjàr echo.
Gusht dialogue, controversy.
Gyán wisdom.
Gyànî possessed of wisdom.
Gyátà wise.
Gyàtrí a sacred verse from the Rig Veda, used by Brahmins and others in their morning devotions.

Hansá goose, used figuratively for the soul of man, as never abiding in one place.
Hindola hymn, sung while swinging in a sitting position.
Hori a musical mode, used during the Holi, a spring festival.

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Jám angel of death.
Jáneo the sacred thread worn over the left shoulder by members of the twice-born castes; the Brahmins, the Kshattriyas and the Vaishyas.
Jap the mumbling of prayers or other devotional exercises.
Jhùlana hymn sung while swinging, in a standing position.
Jiva soul, life.

Kadhár disciple.
Káfir unbeliever, from a Muhammadan point of view.
Kaharà a musical mode.
Kàl time, death.
Kanthì a necklace, made generally of fruit seeds or wooden beads.
Karma action as involving punishment or reward.
Kasauti touchstone.
Khand group, division.
Kusangit associating with wicked persons.

Lákh number, 100,000.
Langoti loin-cloth.
Lìlà play, drama.
Loka world.

Mahá prefix = great.
Mahátam greatness.
Mála rosary.
Mangal joy, hymn of praise.
Mantra a verbal formula, used for religious or semi-religious purposes.
Manshár spreading abroad, publication.
Másа month.
Math monastic building.

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Muktí liberation, salvation.
Múl root.

Nidáhn mansion, abode.
Niranjan void of passions, a title applied to God by Kabir Panthis.
Nirbhai without fear.
Nirguna without qualities.

Pahchán knowledge.
Paij entry.
Pán betel leaf.
Pánch Mál rosary with five strings.
Pande a high caste Brahmin.
Pánji path.
Param-átmá the great, all-pervading soul.
Param-eshwar the great God.
Parwána authoritative document, passport.
Pír Muhammadan saint.
Piya husband.
Prasád offering made to God.
Prishnotar catechism.
Pukár call.
Puno the day of full moon.
Puno Granth form of service used at *Puran Másí*
Puran Másí the festival of full moon.
Purush being, person.

Ramaini a short exposition of religious truth.
Rekhta Poetry, written in a mixed dialect (Hindi, Urdu, Persian, Arabic etc.)

Sádhú a Hindu monk.
Ságar sea.
Saguna with qualities.
Sákat man of the world, unspiritual.
Samadh the tomb of a holy man.

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Samádhi the condition of one completely absorbed in religious meditation.
Sam Darsi concentration of attention on one object.
Samjhe understanding.
Sándhya the meeting of day and night; a form of devotion used at that time.
Sangráh protection.
Sangrám battle, controversy.
Sanyukt union.
Sár whole.
Sarab complete.
Sarawag whole.
Sat-sang association with good men.
Satya true.
Shabda a word or saying; the word of God, see Add. Note p 74.
Shaikh a Muhammadan priest.
Shástras a code of laws, the Hindu scriptures.
Shatah one hundred approximately.
Smrıti memory, religious teaching based upon tradition.
Somtokh contentment.
Sowansa breath.
Sudra a Hindu, not belonging to one of the three twice-born castes.
Sukh peace.
Sukrit virtuous.
Swámí a Hindu religious teacher, held in great respect by his disciples.

Tap the practise of religious austerities.
Táran enabling to cross (river or ocean.)
Tilak a sect mark, usually worn upon the forehead.
Tinká straw.
Tinká-Arpan the offering of straw in sacrifice;

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the name given to the initiatory service in the Kabir Panth.

Tirtha a place of pilgrimage.
Tok atom.

Ugra a title of Shiva.
Ujiyár light.
Upasna fasting.
Updesh teaching.

Vavek discrimination.

Yam the angel of death.
Yog religious meditation.
Yuga age in the world's history.

Zinda living.

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